

PEACE NEWS

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Why Lord Arnold Resigned

By JAMES H. HUDSON,
PEACE NEWS Lobby Correspondent

LORD ARNOLD'S resignation from the Labour Party, announced on Monday night, has been hastened by the events of last week.

Lord Strabolgi says this is not so.

But the plain fact is that the Labour Manifesto not only asked for no talks with dictators, but actually threatened a war for Czechoslovakia and insisted on the enforcement of all Treaties.

That was about enough to send any pacifist into the wilderness.

It will be argued, no doubt, that what Lord Arnold has done, all other pacifists ought to have done. That does not follow. The House of Lords, with its cross-benches, is a much less hide-bound institution than the Commons.

Moreover, Lord Arnold was subjected to the gratuitously rude remark by Lord Snell that when Lord Arnold said he was not speaking for the Labour Party, that was the only thing on which they found themselves in agreement.

"CONVERTING" LABOUR

Of course, there is much of the Labour programme concerning both home and international economic reconstruction with which Labour pacifists do agree, and each of them must be left free to decide whether, in this vital issue upon which they do not accept party policy, there is still open to them the opportunity to try to convince their colleagues that the pacifist is right.

Frankly, the pacifists do not make much progress in this direction. Lord Arnold was convinced of that.

On the other hand, the real work of propaganda has only been carried on for a few months in the pacifist conventions and elsewhere.

A little longer time than this is needed to counteract the influence and wealthy support of the advocates of collective "security," who spent ten years at least in efforts to capture the Labour Party. The Labour Party is now in a quagmire and its affection for its guides and mentors in the LNU is not likely to be increased thereby.

In any case, Lord Arnold remains just as much a supporter of the work of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group as ever he was. There will be no vital division between him and his pacifist colleagues in the Labour Party.

Lord Arnold sat as a Liberal member in the House of Commons from 1912 until 1921, when he resigned because of ill-health. He joined the Labour Party in 1922, was created a Peer in 1924, and took office as Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the first Labour Government.

In 1929, in the second Labour Government, he was appointed Paymaster-General, but he resigned the position in 1931 to help the causes of free trade and temperance.

Although he was a great personal friend of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and accompanied him on his visit to the United States and Canada in 1929, he remained a member of the Labour Party when the "National" Government was formed in 1931.

A Message from GEORGE LANSBURY



The following message has been received by the Editor of PEACE NEWS from George Lansbury:

MAY I join with your readers and all pacifists in wishing our enlarged and improved weekly a long life of successful service on behalf of peace.

You are entering on your new career at a critical moment. All Europe is armed to the teeth.

It is also a fact that all people in all lands earnestly desire peace, and, despite much boasting and blood-curdling talk, all rulers are desperately afraid of the terrifying consequences of another universal war.

In addition, M. Van Zeeland has opened up for the world a new approach to an old problem. We must not lose ourselves in a maze of detail. Van Zeeland calls the nations to a conference table. He knows all the difficulties but is quite certain that, with good will, these can and will be overcome.

So, although we do right to emphasize the horrors and dangers of war, just now we have a splendid opportunity of turning men's minds away from the absurdities and futilities of war and fixing attention on the practical work of spreading good will—a good will which will renounce all self-righteousness and be willing to join in a supreme effort not merely to postpone war but to lay the foundations of an international system of co-operation and sharing the world's resources and markets.

Our new paper—or old paper in a new form—will help us to do this work more efficiently. Good luck and best wishes to you, comrade Editor, and your staff.

George Lansbury

A BARGAIN WITH ITALY— or a Real Peace Policy for All?

Pacifist Way Would End the "Curse of Imperialism"

"PACIFISTS will do well to pay small attention to the differences between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eden. They are advised to give their attention to the constructive peace recommendations of the Van Zeeland Report and to the getting together of Britain, France and the U.S.A. for the purpose of an economic conference."

The pacifist attitude to the dispute over the Anglo-Italian talks shortly to begin in Rome is shown in this statement on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union.

The theme was developed by Wilfred Wellock, a Sponsor of the PPU, in an interview given to PEACE NEWS, in which he pointed out that:

1. The Government's fear of communism is leading it to ally itself with fascist countries.
2. The Rome talks will be used by the Government to strengthen this alliance, designed to benefit vested interests.
3. Only through recognizing "the curse of imperialism" and trying to replace it by a policy of sharing between nations can the way to real peace be found.

In a statement to PEACE NEWS, an official at the headquarters of the Peace Pledge Union said: "Eden has once more become the idol of the Left, symbolizing a strong Britain ready to stand up to the dictators. Chamberlain

is made to assume the rôle of the weak-kneed pacifist ready to conciliate the dictators.

During the course of his speech, Mr. Chamberlain said:

I believe that if the negotiations are approached in a spirit of mutual confidence there is a good hope that they may be brought to a successful conclusion, but if you are going beforehand to enter into a spirit of suspicion, then none of those conditions that you can think of—the initial withdrawal of troops, or anything else—is going to save you. If there is going to be bad faith there will be bad faith, and no assurances beforehand are going to alter it. It looks like incipient pacifism; it even looks like the suggestions of the

New Features

Page seven: Arthur Wragg cartoon: "Speaking Personally," by Vera Brittain.

Page ten: Who's in the News; "Whirligig," by Percival Gull.

Page eleven: The Woman's Point of View.

Page twelve: Books page.

This week's leader-page article is by BERTRAND RUSSELL, who writes on "The Crisis in Foreign Policy."

Van Zeeland report. But is it? In another part of his speech, Mr. Chamberlain outlined the fundamentals of his foreign policy (in which he and Mr. Eden are in agreement) and he put first: "The protection of British interests."

"The difference between him and Eden is that the terms of their bargains with Italy are different. Mr. Chamberlain probably wants an agreement over the Mediterranean to secure our trade routes; in return, he will perhaps turn a blind eye to Italian troops in Spain or grant a loan to Italy as payment for security in the Mediterranean.

PACIFIST POLICY

"The disagreement between Chamberlain and Eden is about the terms of a sordid bargain. Bargaining between diplomats for the sake of military and strategic positions belongs to the world of power politics and is inseparable from it. It is all part of the deadly political game in which war is only temporarily averted by shifting the balance of power.

"Consequently, quarrels between diplomats thus engaged are very remote from any attempts at practical peace-making, which does not wait upon crises but is creative of social peace on terms of justice, equity, and humanity.

"Members of the PPU should realize that they are not called upon to pronounce any opinion on party political differences as they arise from day to day. The PPU accepts no responsibility for the solution of any political crisis that arises as a result of the pursuance of a policy to which it is fundamentally opposed.

"We stand for a policy of real appeasement by a frank recognition of the economic causes of war, which are to be found in the unjustly closed markets, and in the unfair distribution of the world's wealth, raw materials, &c."

CRISIS REVEALS REAL POLICY

"The Eden crisis has done one good thing: It has revealed the stark realities of the political situation, the precise nature of the Government's policy, and the explosive forces which exist in current international relations."

(Continued on Page 2, col. 1)

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Edited by R. H. WARD

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(Continued from page 1.)

said Wilfred Wellock when interviewed by PEACE NEWS.

Asked about the effect of Mr. Eden's resignation, Mr. Wellock said, "It is perhaps just as well that the League phraseology of Mr. Eden should no longer be allowed to hide the policy which the Government, and which Mr. Eden has been a prominent member from its inception, has been consistently pursuing during the last seven years.

"What the departure of Mr. Eden has done is to make it crystal clear that British Imperialism and Fascism are strongly bound together. The cause of the unity is the fear of communism, as I have more than once pointed out in your columns.

"By reason of that fear the fascist Powers are ready to maintain the interests of British imperialism, while the 'National' Government is prepared to sanction the territorial advancement of the fascist Powers."

"What of Mr. Chamberlain's line of action?" Mr. Wellock was asked.

"The course which the Prime Minister has taken in the present crisis is in complete conformity with the policy of the 'National' Government since 1931," he replied.

In all the instances of aggression which have occurred during that period—Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, China—three policies were open to the Government:

"It might allow the have-not Powers to undertake a certain measure of imperialist expansion:

"It might resist such attempts by means of boycotts, sanctions, and eventually war; or it might recognize that imperialism is played out, and take steps to bring into being a new international order.

"In every case the Government has taken the first of these alternatives, having shown the utmost complacency toward each of the aggressors in turn, and so far as we know Mr. Eden has approved. The difference between him and the Prime Minister on the present occasion is that he would make bigger demands upon Italy than Mr. Chamberlain is disposed to make."

"Do you think the outcome would be really very different?" "I doubt it."

WHAT EDEN WOULD DO

"If I understand the situation right, Eden would be prepared, in case Italy definitely undertook to withdraw her troops from Spain, etc., to grant belligerent rights to Franco and, so far as we know, to recognize the conquest of Abyssinia.

"The upshot of such a settlement would be to allow both sides in Spain to purchase arms, and in the present state of Europe, I think it can be concluded that Franco would get far more arms than the Government. Hence the war in Spain would proceed on a far more destructive scale than hitherto, and would end in the defeat of the Government.

"Thus, while we recognize the higher merit of Mr. Eden's conduct in comparison with that of Mr. Chamberlain, we must not for one moment imagine that retaining Mr. Eden would improve the outlook for peace. The reason that the Opposition is so loudly acclaiming Mr. Eden today is that he has, to a greater extent than the Prime Minister, stood up to the aggressor, but its policy no less than his, would lead to war."

PEACE NEWS then asked Mr. Wellock whether he concluded from the present crisis that it was Mr. Chamberlain's intention to pursue a policy of conciliation toward Italy and the other have-not, fascist Powers.

Wilfred Wellock



"In one sense, yes," he answered, but in our sense of the term, definitely no. Remember that in this crisis it is the reactionary section of the Government which has triumphed. Recent events clearly prove, I think, that Mr. Chamberlain proposes to do two things: to help strengthen and consolidate the fascist Powers, and to bind more closely together these Powers with the big imperialist Powers or certainly with Britain.

STRUGGLE OF THE FUTURE

"Mr. Chamberlain is taking the long view, the view that the real struggle of the future will be over the issue of whether the world shall become a real democracy, that is, a complete or economic democracy, or a vast field of exploitation under the control of and organized for the benefit of the vested interests.

"It is my conviction that Mr. Chamberlain is moving as fast as he can or dare toward the latter goal.

"Even with Mr. Eden as Foreign Secretary, the collusion between the British Government and the fascist Powers has been one of the outstanding facts in recent world politics. Of course, the 'National' Government finds no pleasure in the territorial advancement of the fascist Powers, any more than the latter take delight in helping to safeguard British imperial interests.

"But both sides recognize that this is the price that must be paid for protection against communism and perhaps against socialism also."

"Is this policy likely to succeed?"

"No, I do not think so. Common cause against communism will hold Mr. Chamberlain's unnamed alliance together for a time, but power politics, which rest on the demands of private vested interests, are bound to lead to war in the end."

"Besides, no-one knows where this process of buying off the enemy is going to end."

"Do you think that other countries will also claim concessions?"

"Yes—Germany."

"And if Germany asks for Austria and Czechoslovakia, what will the Government say?"

"The 'National' Government knows, and Germany knows, that Britain and France would not venture upon a war with Germany and Italy without the aid of Soviet Russia. It knows also that the defeat of Germany and Italy by Russia, Britain, and France would mean the spread of communism throughout Europe. So Germany, like Italy, will get her way.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

"And so the policy will go on—until the three new empires, standing in all their newly won power and glory, challenge the supremacy of the old empires, in a struggle which will shake the world and civilization to their foundations."

It was pointed out to Mr. Wellock that both the Opposition parties desire the application to one or other of the fascist Powers a policy of boycotts and sanctions. He replied that, though arising from different motives, a similar clash would be the ultimate outcome of such a policy.

"Where, then, lies the hope of salvation?"

"It lies, and can only lie, in a recognition of the curse of imperialism, of the practice of seeking to monopolize the treasures of the earth and the fruits of human labour, and a courageous attempt to supersede that policy by a policy of cooperation and sharing among all nations of the world.

"The heart of mankind is yearning for such a policy, but the world lacks the statesmen with the courage to apply it. The vision of a cooperative world must spread: it is our job to see that it does, and speedily."

Public Affairs

Nine-days Wonder

THE storm over Eden is blowing itself out, despite energetic activity on the part of the Left and Centre to keep it going.

If a ballot had been held last week on the issue of foreign policy alone, Mr. Eden would almost certainly have got more support than Mr. Chamberlain. But governments always know that they can disregard public opinion on foreign policy where they could not afford to do so on home policy. The reaction of the public has been very largely emotional and as such will soon die down.

No Election

THE opponents of the Government in the ardour of the moment have made a bad tactical error. Their two demands, the return of Eden to the Foreign Office and an immediate General Election, are not at the moment practical policies.

The Anglo-Italian talks are definitely initiated, and there is no turning back, so for the moment Eden is out of it. Neither the Government nor the Opposition parties are ready for an election. If an election were held now, the Government would lose a number of seats, but would remain in a majority over a disunited Opposition.

The Trade Unions and Non-Cooperation

A SIGNIFICANT speech was made last Tuesday by Mr. A. M. Wall, secretary of the London Trades Council. He pointed out that the Trade Unions had agreed to cooperate with the rearmament programme on the understanding that it would be used to support a certain definite foreign policy. "Do not go on unheeding with your rearmament programme," said Mr. Wall, "smugly believing that the workers will make armaments indefinitely and unquestioningly."

But the policy which the TUC supports amounts now to the maintenance of the status quo, a policy which inevitably requires the rearmament of this country. If the majority of the country can be convinced of the necessity of reconciliation and the futility of war, they will be in a position to see that that policy is put into action.

The Premier's Friend

MUCH criticism has been directed against the Premier for acting on unofficial information received through a "friend of Count Grandi's." Yet in fact this is the normal method of conducting modern diplomacy.

The affairs of the world are largely settled in unofficial conversations which are subsequently ratified in a formal conference. This method was advocated and practised by Sir Austen Chamberlain when he was Foreign Secretary.

More Money for Defence

ON Monday an important debate will take place on the Defence Estimates. The estimates for all three services are up £78,000,000 on last year, the total being £343,250,000. In view of their recent setback in the public eye, the Government will make every effort to finance this expenditure without any increase in direct taxation, but allowing for a yield of £25,000,000 from the National Defence Contribution, there is still £53,000,000.

The Air Estimates were announced on Wednesday and show an increase of £20,000,000 over last year. In the past three years the Metropolitan Air Force has increased from 52 to 123 squadrons, composed as follows: 68 bomber squadrons, sixteen reconnaissance and torpedo bomber squadrons, ten army cooperation squadrons and thirty fighter squadrons. These figures are indicative of the type of strategy for which the Air Force is designed.

The Naval Talks

DISCUSSIONS have started between the British, French, and American naval experts to decide their position in relation to Japan's recent refusal to undertake to abide by the London Naval Treaty of 1936.

Commentary

Japan has not definitely stated that she is building beyond the Treaty limits, but there are rumours that she is laying down battleships of over 35,000 tons displacement. These may either mount guns exceeding the sixteen-inch calibre limit or else mount smaller guns giving greater manœuvring power and flexibility.

Another form of departure from the Treaty limits would be to build "super cruisers" of over 10,000 tons but falling within the "non-construction zone" and so not counting as battleships. Such cruisers would make it virtually impossible for any large imperial Power adequately to defend her trade routes.

In any case, it looks as if we are in for another naval race on an even larger scale than that which preceded the last war. President Roosevelt has recommended a twenty per cent. increase in the strength of the American fleet and our own estimates are expected to be the largest since 1919.

Sir Edward Grigg

SIR EDWARD GRIGG has resigned from his chairmanship of an Area Committee of the National Fitness Council. The council has recently been at great pains to emphasize its voluntary basis, and has been seriously embarrassed by Sir Edward's articles in the *Observer*. The Government, sensing the opposition to compulsory service, has dropped the Home and Empire League like a hot cake. But we have not heard the end of the matter.

Lord Arnold's Resignation

LORD ARNOLD'S resignation from the Labour Party is an inevitable result of his pacifist views. The actual *casus belli* was the Labour Party's recent manifesto on foreign policy.

To describe Lord Arnold as an isolationist is however a mistake. He made it quite clear in his speech in the House of Lords on February 16 that he is only an isolationist as far as military agreements go. In the economic sphere he believes in full and generous cooperation with foreign countries, a policy which itself would considerably reduce the necessity for defensive military alliances. Lord Arnold will continue his activities in the House of Lords as an independent member. (James H. Hudson on Lord Arnold's resignation, page 1.)

Russia's New Purge

THE coming Moscow trial is likely to be the most sensational of them all, for it implicates some of the highest officials in the country, including one of the seven co-presidents of the Soviet Union and the late head of the GPU.

Whether the charges are true or not, these trials are a terrible indictment of the Government of Russia. A Government which extends its political spying to its own members can hardly be described as a democracy.

It is significant that governments which have achieved power by violence have always had to use violence to maintain themselves in power. Those who support the death sentence for political traitors in Russia are in no position to protest against similar purges in Germany or other countries.

War Risks Insurance

AS is generally known, insurance companies and underwriters recently decided to discontinue insurance against war risks. Reliable information has reached us that certain people in the City are looking for the necessary capital to start a company for the specific purpose of insuring householders against damage in the event of war. If a war came, the company would, of course, go bankrupt. Their policy will be to canvass householders offering to cover them at a premium of a few shillings.

The company would thus accumulate a large premium income, and, after a few years, would decline to renew the policies on the ground that the risk had become too great. The company would then be wound up and the directors would walk off with the premiums.

NEW PAMPHLET

By TOLSTOY.

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"CAN'T STOP WORKING FOR PEACE"

Message to Readers from Men who Refused Military Service

THE following message has been sent to *PEACE NEWS* readers by war resisters in a Danish alternative service camp:—

All of us doing alternative service in the camp at Maarum, Denmark, send our heartiest thanks to all of you who remembered us at Christmas.

War, and its followers, is making cruel deeds in the world so that we must be ashamed to call ourselves "man," "the most developed creature," "made in God's image," and so on.

We can't stop talking against war and working for peace. But let us begin in our own hearts when we are pledging the cause of peace. We can't remake the world if we don't love our neighbours. Good luck to our mutual struggle!

This message has been sent through Miss Gladys E. Cook, of Cirencester, one of those to carry out the suggestion that readers should send Christmas messages to those in prisons, etc., abroad.

Some of the 469 members of the War Resisters' International in prison in many countries for refusal to undertake military training think themselves alone in their stand. The WRI tries to give them the strength which comes through comradeship and brotherhood. In some cases war resisters are misunderstood and cast off by those they love most.

PROUD OF THEM.

In other cases their relations are proud to own such brave defenders of their principles, as the following extracts from two letters from the mothers of war resisters in Poland and Austria show.

Extracts from a letter from the mother of Michael Bryl, Polish war resister, to the President of the District Military Court before whom her son was tried:—

When he was 21 he appeared before the Recruiting Commission and explained straightforwardly and plainly that he would not serve as a soldier because he loved his neighbour and therefore could not learn to murder him.

In March this year (1937) he was called up for actual military service. That was a very hard blow for me, for I knew his honesty and the inflexibility of his character; I knew that he would rather go to prison or even worse, but he would not be a soldier; and this meant for me—an invalid who may die any day, an old

woman of 65—that I must say "good-bye" to him for ever. So I did that. I said "good-bye" to him for ever, and blessed him for taking the most holy of all courses.

I am not asking for mercy for him, but only bear witness that he does what he does honestly and with determination; that no one and nothing will be able to compel him to do otherwise; and that all the penalties to which he will be exposed will not bring the result which those who punish him desire.

Letter from the mother of Anton Vetrovsky, Austrian war resister, to the Archbishop of Vienna:

My conviction is, if my son's action is not pleasing to God, he will not have sufficient conviction to hold out through these trials; but if it is from God, everything which is done against him will be in vain. As a firmly convinced Christian, I believe that the laws of a Christian State must be in harmony with the laws of the Almighty, and not in opposition to them.

I have complete trust in the decrees of God, and seek no human help, but I feel obliged to inform your Eminence of this event.

Anton Vetrovsky himself would be glad to receive postcards of greetings. He is only allowed one letter in five weeks, but postcards might reach him.

In any case the prison authorities would then see that he has friends throughout the world who hold views similar to his own, and who know about him. Postcards should be addressed:—Anton Vetrovsky, Strafanstalt, Stein a. d. Donau, Austria.

PACIFIST INTERVIEWS JAPAN'S PREMIER

THE fact that Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa, the well-known Japanese Christian and socialist, put forward the constructive pacifist message in an interview with the Premier of Japan is revealed in a letter from Miss Helen F. Topping, who works in close association with Dr. Kagawa.

"The pacifist leaders of Europe have found that economic reconstruction is basic to peace," she writes. "They are studying the technique of how to get it. Japan possesses Kagawa and that is his pacifist technique."

She points out that hitherto "pacifism has been defined as protest. Now we find ourselves up against an impasse. We are not allowed to protest and yet feel the only alternative is a surrender of our conscientious position."

She goes on to urge that pacifism must be defined as reconstruction, and adds:—

This focusing of pacifist activity on a positive, constructive goal of world-reconstruction would be a step forward from the old negative position of protest....

Without any compromising with our consciences (if our intellects and imaginations are equal to it), we Japanese pacifists can and should take this new step forward and develop a clear witness along this line.

That it is possible even in war time is shown by the fact of Kagawa's interview with the Premier.

Miss Topping has herself carried this into practice. On her return to Japan early in December she was asked to speak at the Tokyo branch of the



KAGAWA

Fellowship of Reconciliation, and chose as her subject, "The New Pacifism."

Despite his grief at the outbreak of war, Dr. Kagawa himself has been very active. Without cessation he has kept up his evangelistic work, going out to preach every night, after days full of interviews and writing. "It is the young men who fill the meeting halls," reports Miss Topping. "The older men and women are timid about coming to the internationally minded Christian the internationally-minded Christian



Léon Blum, first Popular Front Premier, from whose high original ideals the French Government has since fallen.

Anglo-Irish Alliance Proposal Causes Alarm

William S. Kelly, of the All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade, in a statement to *PEACE NEWS*, says:—

We view with alarm the rumours of a defensive alliance between Ireland and Britain. We believe that Ireland cannot be truly defended by Irish soldiers backed by British warships and aeroplanes.

Britain may see in this alliance a great necessity but Ireland must see in it a sure devastation if war should come.

We in Ireland have no empire to defend, no imperial interests to safeguard. So we should remain neutral and declare to the world we want nothing from them but their friendship.

By this alliance we shall certainly be dragged into war, and while neutrality is no guarantee of safety it gives us some hope of survival.

We know Mr. De Valera to be a man of peace while not a pacifist. So the temptation is great when we consider how anxious he is to settle the struggle between the two countries.

We believe he will be showing true friendship to Britain when he declares to a war-weary world that Ireland should disarm and depend for her safety on justice and the power that trust in God produces.

FASCISM COMES TO FRANCE

Through the Popular Front

THE Popular Front, the body organized to fight fascism, has led France into fascism.

That is the charge made by Robert Tourly in *La Patrie Humaine*, the French pacifist weekly, in which he shows how parliament, political parties, and so on now bow "in a touching unanimity before the necessities of the hour."

The Popular Front Government has concentrated military power in the hands of one chief, under the direction of the War Minister. When M. Tardieu wanted to do this a few years ago, there was such opposition that he gave up the idea.

The cry of "fascism" was raised then, recalls Robert Tourly, who adds that "the way is clear for the realization of the complete militarization of the country."

CLERGY AGAINST WAR

A report of the Fourth International Congress of Anti-Militarist Ministers and Clergymen, held in Edinburgh last year, has just been published by the Ministers' International Peace Union.

The report is published in English, French and German, and is obtainable from the secretary of the Union, the Rev. J. B. Th. Hugenholz, Ammerstol, Holland, price 1s.

The credentials of the Dutch Ambassador to Italy have been addressed to "H.R.H. the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia," a diplomatic recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia that has led the Dutch Association for the Liberation of Abyssinia to send protests to members of the Dutch Government and to members of Parliament.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

"PACIFISTS," said a writer in a recent issue of "Peace News," "have to co-ordinate their resources if they are to live on a level with the rest of the world."

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HEADQUARTER'S NOTES

By Max Plowman

I AM convinced that if we really knew how to present the case for pacifism as we ought, we should burn our way through the mass of fear, inertia and timidity that stands between the world and peace today. I am convinced that this is so, because I never meet an honest man, who is ready to argue the point, without being able to wring from him the admission that of course the pacifist case is ultimately sound, and it is to the pacifist position that the world is slowly endeavouring to transpose itself. Only (say so many), yet awhile, it's too risky: "the lesser breeds without the law," as Kipling called them, are not ready. Yes, they themselves are pacifists in all but name, but . . .

"The yes-buts" Dick Sheppard called them. And the job that so badly wants doing is to convince them that they themselves are the "buts." They are standing in their own light—they are their own enemies—they are frustrated in their honest search for decency and security and an honourable way of life simply because they won't commit themselves. Peace, like a bride at the altar, stands waiting for them to say "yes"; but she is just scared out of her life when they can't do anything better than respond, "yes—but . . ."

Politically, the necessity to-day is to undermine the prestige of fascist dictators whose consolidated power puts the peoples of the democratic countries in a perpetual condition of fear. That this can never be done by shaking rearmament fists, surely a child can see; for it is upon this very meat that our modern Caesars are grown so fat. No, pity must join what fear has torn asunder.

What are essential are such obvious gestures of fair dealing in economic appeasement as will demonstrate to the people of the fascist countries that their vaunted unity is nothing more than mass fright, and that they are needlessly suffering the loss of their personal liberties. Those to whom we thought it politic to be unjust in 1918 are precisely those to whom we must act with just generosity now. For peace can be obtained at a price; but since Germany and Italy haven't had the price of peace in their pockets since 1918, it is for England, France and America, who have had that price in their pockets all the time, to pay the price of peace.

The fascist countries are seeking to obtain, by any and every means, their share of the prosperity which Mr. Chamberlain seems never tired of claiming as our own exclusive possession. The claim to prosperity, and the effort to maintain it by means of economic warfare, is a direct challenge to fascist countries who can only reply to it by violence and the threat of violence. The struggle is between the haves and the have-nots—not in terms of territory, but in terms of social and economic prosperity. The history of the past twenty years is the history of that struggle.

To obtain international peace it is essential to appease international economic strife. That is why the PPU should back the Van Zeeland Report for all it is worth. But since the PPU is a confederacy of individuals, I think it might be worth while considering some form of words that would define our attitude.

Is it possible to state it in a sentence which, if read by people on the Continent and fully believed by them to be an expression of the deep conviction of a large number of conscientious people in this country, would be persuasive in its power to remove misconceptions? Lord Curzon's motto: "Let Curzon hold what Curzon held" is believed by people on the Continent to be a good sample of British intention now and at all times. Might it not be possible for us to do something to remove this impression by some such attestation as this:—

I declare that I only desire to maintain that condition of economic prosperity, social well-being and political freedom which I am ready to share equally with the nationals of every European State.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

THIS week PEACE NEWS is symbolic of the increased power and importance of the PPU. In many ways it represents a great step forward and should carry with it the high hopes and ambitions of the members in all parts of the country. In the groups we have been working hard to establish contact with our silent membership and this is the opportunity many of us need to double our strength.

I would suggest that every reader of these notes gets one more copy of the paper and takes it at once to a non-active member with the request that he or she gives an order for next week, at the same time outlining the work already done in his district and asking for advice as to future progress. By this means we may easily double the circulation of PEACE NEWS and receive some useful criticism of our own active work from an "outsider" who may have possibly seen "more of the game."

Great moves are on foot at our end and I am anxious to get as many reports from group leaders as possible. Please write to me giving me your views and news.

Since I mentioned the proposed pilgrimage to Canterbury at Easter, a number of enthusiastic letters have been sent and arrangements are going ahead on the spot. Let me say more about the idea.

The East and West Kent Regional Committees are going to organize a "hike" to Canterbury, starting on Good Friday and by easy stages covering about thirty to thirty-five miles by Easter Sunday. Accommodation is to be arranged each night in schools, guest houses, churches, or youth hostels, and it is hoped that a fairly large number will join in.

On Easter Monday (Bank Holiday) we shall arrange an open-air demonstration in or near Canterbury, to which everyone who can come is invited. I should like to hear from those who can meet us there, coming by car, train, bus or "Shanks's pony."

Now that the paper is larger, there will be more room for group reports, and the easiest way would be for group leaders to send me notices of activities and accounts of meetings, demonstrations, and debates. These should reach me not later than Friday first post to be included, if possible, in the following week's issue.

What is needed is information that will be helpful to others rather than merely news of local interest. For instance, where a group committee has carried out a house-to-house visitation and followed it up by distribution of literature and personal contacts have been made, the method used and the number contacted would be useful to many others.

Methods of group training vary, and it should now be possible to exchange ideas in this new column. How much districts differ in this respect is known to those of us who spend our evenings travelling the country. Between January 1 and February 26 this year I have attended 45 meetings and of these only about ten have been organized by outside bodies.

The groups I have met have been as widely separated as Clacton, Weymouth, Dover, and Sheffield, and scarcely ever have I met any two groups using the same method. Some are more successful than others, and I am able to pour out ideas which I have gathered from so many sources for the benefit of all.

Points to remember this week are, I suggest:—

1. New readers for PEACE NEWS.
2. New members.
3. New ideas for others.
4. Canterbury pilgrimage.
5. Increased activity.

Annual General Meeting. Please send in delegate forms by Monday.

COLD COMFORT

Nothing said by apologists for air raid "precautions" has been so succinct as the answer of the Chief Constable of Swansea when asked if all the "precautions" proposed for his city would make Swansea safe in the event of an air raid.

"Oh, no!" he replied. "But people will know what to do."

News from the Four Corners

EAST

Norwich now issues its regular Bulletin to the Norfolk Region. The current issue announces that the Norwich group has decided to adopt one of the Basque children in the PPU centre at Langham. Already more than half the required sum has been guaranteed.

LONDON

Residents in Acton and neighbouring districts have been receiving a neat circular offering "a different booklet every fortnight for three months for the inclusive charge of 9d. a quarter (or 2s. 6d. a year). The books are written or sponsored by George Lansbury, Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, Rose Macaulay, Donald Soper and the late Canon H. R. L. Sheppard." Subscribers will obviously receive much more than their money's worth and the publications will be delivered to them.

Highgate group have discovered an excellent method of obtaining free publicity which will be of use to many local groups.

Particulars of the group, including the name and address of the local secretary, will be inserted in Kelly's Directories—which circulate in London and elsewhere—free of charge. By making a small payment the name of the Union can be set in prominent block type.

Regent Street poster paraders want some more volunteers to meet at headquarters on Saturday evenings at 6.45 p.m. Parades in the West End attract much attention; could one member of your group help sometimes?

SCOTLAND

Dundee group leader addressed a Women's Cooperative Guild meeting and left some pledge cards and leaflets behind. A request for another batch of pledge cards was received by the next post and a day or two later came another letter asking for more leaflets. Work of this sort, including a very successful and profitable concert, did a good deal to stimulate Scottish interest in the PPU last month.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

The Staff Bathroom—"Cuarto de Baño de los Profesores"—is generally cleaned by two small girls, present by Asuncion (eleven years) and Argentina (nine).

They are very serious and proud of their work. Argentina is just about big enough to get her arms into the lavatory basin, and has a voice phenomenally sepulchral for her tender years. Asun, has curiously mischief-laden eyes with which she can produce a violent one-sided squint at will, and an irresistible giggle.

The bath is cleaned with "pulvo" and paraffin; and if the English "Director" is about when they want this he has to go down to the paint-cellar and draw an inch of paraffin in the coffee-tin they use for the purpose. The floor is scrubbed by the ancient down-on-your-knees process. The wax polishing is an important part of the after-process. The toilers remove their shoes, tie pieces of cloth round their bare feet and slither about until a good surface is obtained.

When all is done, the children do not necessarily vanish modestly. Anyone about will be called in to see how well the work has been done, be asked to admire in detail, and be warned not to leave toilet appurtenances strewn on the window-sill, but put them always in the new special place on the rack over the bath.

And perhaps (especially if it is Asun.), the favour of an ear will be requested, into which a breezy and frightfully tickling whisper will be projected, suggesting that the work deserves a toy, or even a shilling!

The request made, everyone giggles, no-one takes it seriously, the payment is never made, everyone parts in high spirits, and the process starts with equal gusto next time.

SOUTH

Worthing. A member suggests that a pamphlet, such as "The Peace Pledge Union—What It Is" should be pasted inside books that are to be loaned.

SOUTH WALES

Cardiff reports a very successful debate with the local LNU branch. Dr. Pugh, who put a convincing case for the PPU, has done a great deal of pioneer work in South Wales and it is with regret that we learn she is shortly moving from the district. She leaves behind a healthy and rapidly growing organization to carry on the good work.

SOUTH-WEST

Hampshire secretary, Mr. Hope Gill, has organized an important meeting at Southampton with the help of local members. After describing all the extremely thorough preparations, he adds, characteristically, "I have had fifty large posters put on the hoardings besides."

Gloucester group reports that PEACE NEWS was introduced to the local library by a member who offered to pay the subscription until December 31, 1937. The subscription duly expired but the paper continues to appear regularly in the Reading Room. Evidently it has won a place on its own merits.

WEST

North Devon. Following the successful South Devon Rally last month a further campaign in North Devon was carried out this week. The speakers were Miss Mary Gamble, Nigel Spottiswoode, Dr. Herbert Gray and Wilfred Wellock, and it is hoped that the meetings held at Bideford, Barnstaple, South Molton and Tiverton may result in the formation of several new groups. Mr. E. C. Maddax, of Newton Abbot, is in charge of the work of organization.

Idle is only a scattered suburb of Bradford, but a successful meeting addressed by Professor George with the Rev. J. W. A. Singleton as chairman, was held there recently. At the close the audience seemed thoroughly interested in the literature stall. But PEACE NEWS was not on sale in the hall. What about it, Idle?

Members of the Glasgow branch distributed leaflets outside the King's Theatre after three performances of the play *Idiot's Delight*, by Robert E. Sherwood. The play is well worth performing by pacifist dramatic groups and is one for which PPU members should keep a look-out for similar demonstrations.

THE NOTICE BOARD

Voluntary Workers who would be willing to take charge regularly of Headquarters Library urgently needed. Times: from 1 to 2 on two days each week, and from 6 to 8 each evening; knowledge of librarianship not necessary.—Write: The Librarian, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Will any PPU member or friend who could undertake translation work from English into Norwegian get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers needed for office work in connexion with PPU. Apply in first instance to 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

All in London who would be willing to put up delegates to annual general meeting for night of April 2, write John Barclay, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

All welcome at prayers for peace. All Saints, Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m. every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

Thornton Heath group dance, St. Oswald's Hall, Green Lane, Norbury, S.W.16. John Barclay, M.C. Tickets, 2s.

A member writes on

PSYCHOLOGY

I have read with great interest several letters published in PEACE NEWS suggesting that the PPU should form an organization for the study of psychology.

As a student of that subject and also a member of the PPU, it appears to me to be an excellent idea. I would like to hear what other keen pacifists think of it.

E. H. DURSLEY.

"Westward Ho,"
Bradenham Place,
Penarth.

NOT ENOUGH SUPPORT FOR A.R.P.

People are Seeing Through the Sham of "Defence"

REMOVAL OF WAR THE ONLY REMEDY

THE progress of schemes of air raid "precautions" is by no means as rapid as the authorities wish. The following instances are typical of the particular difficulty of finding air raid wardens.

At Portsmouth an ambitious black-out is planned for March 23. A survey of the city is being made, and the shortage of wardens is acute. To perfect arrangements another 1,000 wardens are required.

British Legion efforts to provide wardens for the county of Shropshire have apparently been unsatisfactory. Failing an improvement, the war may have to be taken over by the police.

An invitation to those over eighteen to take on duties as wardens or auxiliary firemen "if they do not fancy the Territorial Army" contained in a circular issued by Manchester Boy Scouts' Association, has aroused feeling in the Scout movement. (Actually, wardens cannot be accepted under thirty years of age, while auxiliary firemen must be not less than 25.) The same circular calls for Scouts and Rovers over sixteen to form an emergency messenger service under the ARP scheme.

This lack of enthusiasm for the official schemes is due in part to the fact that daily events in China and Spain show the absurdity of hoping for any "protection" from them.

KILLED PEOPLE 450 YARDS AWAY.

People are asking what use the schemes would be against bombs such as those described by the Mayor of Barcelona at a meeting in the House of Commons. These went through six or seven floors of concrete before bursting in lower floors, he declared, and killed people 450 yards away from where they fell.

Among those advocating the abolition of war itself as the only possible protection are men who have had experience in the RAF. Air Commodore P. M. Fellowes, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote:

We must get the nations round a table in an honest, realistic, and genuine endeavour to analyse in the interests of all nations equally the causes of war.

Another correspondent, an RAF captain, showed how a balloon barrage and anti-aircraft guns would cause bombers to fly so high that they would be bound to hit some civilians even if military objectives were their real goal.

Commenting on the proposal sometimes made that an agreement should be reached to confine aerial attack to military objectives, Wing Commander J. A. Cecil Wright suggested in *The Times* that "if we can come to an agreement to refrain from using aerial warfare we can equally agree to refrain from using all forms of warfare."

NO NEED FOR ARP

Valuable work is being done by pacifists, largely through Press correspondence, to enlighten the public on this issue, and to show how ARP schemes are part of the general preparation for war. In one such letter, published in the *Manchester Guardian* from representatives of Manchester Friends' Peace Committee and Manchester District Peace Pledge Union, the need for preparation for peace was stressed. The Van Zeeland Report, said the letter, contains remedies for the healing of the nations which, if adopted, would do much to prevent the possibility of broken humanity needing to be decontaminated and patched up by gangs of volunteers.

Members of the Bayswater and Notting Hill groups of the PPU have explained their attitude to "precautions" by the novel method of an open letter to the Paddington Air Raid Warden and Home Office officials present at a local ARP demonstration.



Llanelli group of the Peace Pledge Union found a stall in the local market place an excellent method of selling the goods.

G.L. in University Debate

The motion "That this House approves the rearmament programme as an essential contribution to world peace" will be moved by the Solicitor-General, Sir Terence O'Connor, and opposed by George Lansbury at a Foundation Debate to be held under the auspices of the University of London University College Union Society on Monday, March 21. at 8 p.m. Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P., will take the chair.

This year's National Peace Congress—the 28th of the series—will meet in Bristol from May 27–29. The central theme of the discussions will be peace in relation to social justice, but sessions will also be devoted to consideration of the League of Nations, methods of local peace propaganda, and the possibility of more united action within the peace movement. Particulars can be obtained from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Methodists Write to a Bishop THE CHRISTIAN WAY

HAVING read the Bishop of London's letter in his January *Diocesan Leaflet* in which he referred to the question of war and peace and our own Government's attitude thereto, the Kingsway Hall (London) Group of the Methodist Peace Fellowship wrote to put before him the convictions of the group. Points in their letter were:—

"Upon the question of rearmament, our belief is that . . . the very action of meeting violence with violence is at variance with the Christian way of life, and contributes nothing to the solution of the world's problems.

"Support of rearmament must connote your sanction of the ultimate use of arms. It is this which we believe to be fundamentally unchristian, since their use must involve those very things which your Lordship deprecates, such as, in your own words, 'damnable waste of human life and national treasure,' and the consequent fate of such nations as Abyssinia and China.

"Incidentally, Abyssinia and China did not, as your Lordship says, permit themselves to be trampled upon, but resisted unavailingly.

"Resist not evil, but overcome evil with good," involved, in their view, "the abolition of armaments, the policy of the 'open door' to trade and raw materials, and the abandonment once and for all of any assumption by any one country, supported by arms and territory, of the dominance of the world."

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1 WATCH THIS NEW WEEKLY FEATURE "THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW"

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attractively produced in
Green, White and Yellow
Price 2d. each

A POSTER 20" x 15"
for advertising
Local Meetings, with
blank for Speaker
and Subject

In green on yellow
Price - - 1d. each

A New Leaflet

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6d. per 100, 4/- 1,000

The Futility of A.R.P.

(A Speech by Lord Arnold)

If you want to keep fit

Air Raid Precautions

(This replaces the Green Leaflet)

Anti-Gas, some facts

For BLACKOUTS
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6d. per 100
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The following are DISCONTINUED:

"1066 and all that"
To Mothers especially
Geo. Robey verse:
"Burn the Babies"
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DICK SHEPPARD'S
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NOW ON SALE
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Dick tells the Story
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PRICES of Leaflets, etc. do not include Postage.

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In this column we shall publish, from time to time, articles expressing the individual views and ideas of members of the Peace Pledge Union, and others, and these should not be taken as being necessarily concurred in either by us or by the PPU as a whole.

POLICY and the P.P.U.

PLEASE inform me if I am wrong in the assumption that the Peace Pledge Union was formed about the simple pledge, "I renounce war, and I will never support or sanction another."

Assuming that it was, it is easy to perceive that this pledge is a declaration which transcends all boundaries. Not only those of sovereign States; but those of political parties, which are sovereign within more prescribed limits. But it is an error to believe, let alone act in the belief, that these boundaries either are or should be thereby eliminated. Only one change is properly effected—an internal change that consists in the renunciation of violence as an instrument of policy.

It should still remain as possible for one pacifist to say, "Why pacifists should not be socialists," as for another to say why they should be (as if, in any case, anyone knows what a socialist is, apart from membership of a socialist party, of which there are many).

Again, some will hold it to be debatable whether "government of the people by the people for the people" is even humanly desirable, apart from its practicability altogether, which itself can be disputed by sincere men holding opposite views, who, nevertheless, each agree that the dispute is not to be settled, except perhaps in a strictly practical sense, also debatable, by the forcible removal of one of the disputants. But it will be contended that the truly practical solution is probably the forcible extinction of both.

The renunciation of violence simply alters the terms of debate, but does not establish any right to a monopoly, or any monopoly itself, of political platforms by one overriding *ex cathedra* pronouncement—"I am for peace, therefore my policy is right, whatever policy I choose."

The renunciation of violence, made explicit by the peace pledge, provides a criterion by which to decide whether to give support to or withhold it from any particular party; but does not provide a criterion by which to say that this policy or that should be followed.

That is to say, the renunciation of violence provides a criterion of method not of policy. The distinction is important. It is important in itself, but for the PPU in its present reaching after a programme of reform, it has a particular force.

If the PPU sponsors a programme of reform, it relegates the peace pledge—its very *raison d'être*—to a subordinate position; it loses its identity as the Peace Pledge Union, and becomes merely a political party pledged not to use violence in the attainment of its object, and not to go to war if elected to govern.

The reform may not, probably will not, be acceptable to all, even of its own members, on conscientious grounds or on grounds of practicability. The peace front will be dissipated.

The value of the PPU, if it develops along lines true to its origin (read again my first paragraph), will be precisely in its evolution of a technique of passive resistance for use in the event of a war; its training of members in the exercise of that technique; and the distribution of hardships incurred by its members in loyalty to their pledge.

Its value will lie also in its identification as the British section of the War Resisters' International (but that leads to another story).

Hugo Rey

A C.O. goes back to Jail

By
HUBERT W. PEET

CELL C 2/16 at Pentonville Prison looked much the same when I entered it a week or two ago as it had when I last saw it in March, 1919.

For the eighteen months previous I had spent nearly nineteen hours out of every 24 hours within its walls. There were the familiar bed board and coverings, table, stool, porridge pot, neat brown salt-cellar, and a half-dozen books.

High up was the tiny barred window, looking more inaccessible than ever. In front of the utensils on the floor, now all of enamelware, was something new—a pair of felt slippers, and on the wall a small looking-glass, another innovation. Behind the door was a small book-binder's table which in this cell took the place of a wooden washstand that now figures in most cells.

The cards of regulations hung on the walls as usual. Curious to see how Rule 1 would strike me after twenty years, I took up the top card. Every C.O. will recollect that deadening first injunction: "Prisoners shall preserve silence." But instead of the old rule I read:

NOTES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF PRISONERS

1. If you are in need of guidance in regard to your private affairs, or of assistance on your discharge, you should apply to see the Governor or the Chaplain.
2. There are attached to the prison Visitors who give their services in visiting prisoners in their cells.
3. You will be allowed to keep photographs of your relatives in your cell if you so desire. Four will be enough as a rule.

Not until I reached Section 12 (7) did I read that it was an offence against discipline "to communicate with another prisoner without authority."

The tone of the card, with its use of the personal pronoun and its notification

of those humanizing touches afforded by Voluntary Visitors and photographs, is the best indication I can give of the new attitude of those in authority toward the prison inmates. The contrast will immediately strike the prisoner of twenty years ago even if it is not obvious to those who have never been to prison.

Some privileges, however, only apply when the prisoner has reached the Third Stage, that is, approximately, after three months in prison. The short-sentence man does not benefit to the same extent.

But most important of all is the breaking-down of the silence rule.

"When you get outside," a Pentonville warder once said to me, "I wonder whether you will look over your shoulder to see if you are being watched, before you speak to your neighbour."

Thus did the old system subtly undermine straightforwardness.

"HARD LABOUR" now involves only a fortnight of sleeping on a bed-board without mattress. (Incidentally, two sights cheered me in the prison yards, more flower-beds, and what I was assured, was at last an effective apparatus for dealing with bugs in bed-boards. My old comrades will realize how much this means!)

All prisoners go out at once to associated labour, whereas in the past most had to work for one month in their cells. The varieties of work, however, have altered little.

No longer is the prisoner habitually left in solitary confinement from soon after 4 p.m. one day until 6 a.m. or later the next—with all the "sanitary" unpleasantness this used to involve.

The bath is now an evening function; so is haircutting. Opportunities are also given on certain evenings for each man to shave himself with a safety razor, and no longer is self-respect lowered by the consciousness of a fortnight's growth of beard. Longer-sentence men may attend gymnasium and educational classes, lectures, and occasional concerts.

Tobacco is still contraband. Any sort of newspaper used to be so too, but as I made my tour the four-page *Weekly News Sheet*, edited and printed at Maidstone Prison, was being distributed to each cell. This consists of home and foreign news, a page of football and boxing notes, an anagram, and a crossword puzzle.

I got another surprise in the library.

"The demand for fiction is decreasing," the officer in charge assured me, adding, almost with a touch of disapproval, "the men now seem to want biographies, books on economics, social questions, and especially those on European politics."

Technical books are in demand, and many of these are obtained from a central library at Wakefield.

BUT Pentonville—and other less gloomy gaols—will always remain prison.

The changes in the régime which I gladly note may reduce the occasions of bitterness on the part of the prisoner, and may give more chances of reform, but they cannot eliminate the sense of prison.

Nor, I realized, can anyone who goes into prison as a free man, get fully "under the skin" of those under confinement.

[Extracts from one of a series of articles in *The Friend* on "Penal Reform in 1938."]

Film Notes

A Dictator's Dream — and Why It Failed

Marie Waleski.

IN spite of its name, and Garbo's wonderful portrait of the heroine, *Marie Waleski* is Boyer's.

His study of Napoleon is the finest interpretation of "The Man of Destiny" that I have seen in theatre or cinema.

He gives us, with rare delicacy, the growth of passion into something resembling love.

But always Garbo makes us aware that for Marie, as for Anna Karenina, the end will be tragedy.

It is Napoleon's career that is the mainspring of all action. In the same breath that he declares his love for Marie, Napoleon is planning to marry a princess of the Royal House of Hapsburg in order to strengthen his position in Europe and secure an heir to a throne.

So great is Boyer's art that at one moment we are almost persuaded that it may be his dream of a United States of Europe which lures him, and not the

relentless force of the lust for power which drives him on, through bloodshed and butchery, to Waterloo and St. Helena.

Emerson has written Napoleon's epitaph in one trenchant phrase: "He would shorten a straight line to get at his object"—and that is why he failed.

Boyer, in his penetrative study, has come to show us that violent beginnings have violent ends; that there is "a power in life which makes for righteousness"; that what is gained by force must be kept by force.

Films from Russia.

The Everyman Cinema at Hampstead has been showing a series of Russian films which, in the afternoons at any rate, have been badly attended. This is a pity, as there are not often opportunities of seeing Russian drama interpreted by its own people—a very different thing from listening to Russian plays by English actors.

Recently shown in this series (which ends to-morrow) was the film *Storm over Asia*, which showed one of the great evils of all ages, and a major cause of civil and international war—the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

The incidents were grouped round a story of the fur trade and gave opportunity for some remarkably fine acting, rising in some parts, by the chief character especially, almost to greatness.

Great art can unconsciously be good propaganda, but good propaganda is not necessarily great art, as was shown by the second film, a frankly Left-wing piece of work.

A more recent production was *The Road to Life*, a record of the great Russian experiment of dealing with the "Wild Boys" who tramped the roads, sheltered in cellars, and fought and stole their way through childhood, until at last they were housed in collective homes.

The actors were the children themselves, finding the road to life by means of useful work.

A. WHITEHEAD.

★ Ideas ★

A STREET-SELLING SCHEME

A simple but effective scheme of organization for street-selling of PEACE NEWS has been worked out by Barnett groups of the Peace Pledge Union.

Feeling that it is one of the best means of propaganda open—still more so now that the larger size enables it to widen its appeal—members are insuring that unfailing regularity is maintained.

Saturday night, from 6.30 to 8.30, is the time chosen for selling, and the pitch is in the busiest spot in the district. A rota of volunteers has been drawn up, and each volunteer is given ample notice and is asked to sell on one Saturday every month. Volunteers work in pairs.

Each volunteer has been given exact instructions what to do (i.e., where to collect copies, where to return those unsold, what to do if ordered to move on by the police, &c.). In addition sellers have been impressed with the importance of giving ample notice if unable to take their turns.

Even bad weather is not allowed to interfere with the arrangements, for in this event sellers are asked to turn up, standing in a doorway if necessary.

Follow Up Your Meetings.

One of the times when local Press correspondence can be most effective in presenting the pacifist case is shortly after a public meeting, which often results in the raising of points calling for a reply.

Newark PPU group has just proved this to be the case, and in a comment on letters in a local newspaper following a recent meeting in Newark Town Hall, the secretary points to the valuable help in answering questions that can be obtained from pacifist books and pamphlets.

In this case Aldous Huxley's *What Are You Going to do About it?* and *The Church, the Bible, and War*, by Hector Macpherson, were found to be of particular use in answering some of the points raised.

Speaking Personally

BOOKS and
WORLD PEACE—I

IN the midst of the great American depression, there was a story current in England concerning a contemporary visit of the famous British economist, Mr. John Maynard Keynes, to the United States. The first reporter who met him at the docks put a leading and significant question.

"Can you tell us, Mr. Keynes, from your great knowledge of history, whether there has ever been a parallel to the present depression, and if so, how long it lasted?"

Mr. Keynes reflected for a moment and then replied: "Yes, there was one. It was called the Dark Ages, and it lasted for five hundred years."

To many of us, the present moment seems nearer to a new Dark Age than the lowest point of the depression.

With war reducing Spain and a large



Miss Vera Brittain

part of China to barbarism, with heavy rearmament programmes being carried out by the United States, England, France, and Russia in response to the ever-rising tide of fascism, it is not astonishing to find the hearts of all but the very young "failing them for fear."

Must we, who lost our fathers and brothers in one war, lose our sons and daughters in another? The dark uncertainty of the answer to that question undermines every project and impedes every plan.

★

IN a confused world full of bewildered individuals looking desperately around for salvation, one source of hope should surely lie in the writers and thinkers whose business it is to stand above contemporary conflicts, and keep sane when others lose their heads.

Needless to say, it is not an infallible source. Ten years ago the French critic, M. Julien Benda, complained in his diatribe, *La Trahisons des Clercs*, that many modern authors pander to the grossest weaknesses of the public mind by "adopting political passions," by going down into the arena and taking sides instead of remaining objective and detached.

VERA BRITAIN

is the first of a number of well-known people who will write under the heading "Speaking Personally..." for three weeks at a time, giving their views on a great variety of subjects.

Only within recent months, the violently partisan attitude of several non-Spanish writers in the Spanish war has recalled a dictum of the late George Saintsbury: *It may not be easy to preserve the critical attitude when you love; that attitude is gone, without hope of recovery, as soon as you hate.*

When civilization has developed to a stage in which its very purpose and existence is threatened by the type of warfare that it produces, the literary partisan plays a suicidal role. In the long centuries of slow rebuilding which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire, literature and art were forced to take refuge in the monasteries.

It is doubtful whether the unutterable chaos likely to be produced by another "war to end war" would permit the survival of any such cultural oases. The grave possibility of complete annihilation seems to suggest that the task of modern literature, if only in the interests of its own existence, is to emphasize and develop any tendency or philosophy which creates an atmosphere of peace and makes war less probable.

★

ALTHOUGH this function of literature was never so urgent in the past as it has become today, it has been carried out, consciously or unconsciously, by some of the greatest writers of all the ages.

Among the earliest were those who, like the Hebrew prophets, drew for their readers the picture of an ideal civilization in which the passions of war had been eliminated by the arts of peace.

One of the noblest contributions ever made to the idea of international unity was the conception of a Messiah who, as the Prince of Peace, "shall judge between the nations and shall reprove many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."

This notion of a sovereign who should be pre-eminently a peacemaker was not confined to the Hebrew writers. Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*, with its prophecy of a wonderful child and an era of peace, contains language reminiscent of Isaiah and Micah, though it displays less confidence in the perfectibility of human nature:

Still shall some ancient evil live in men,

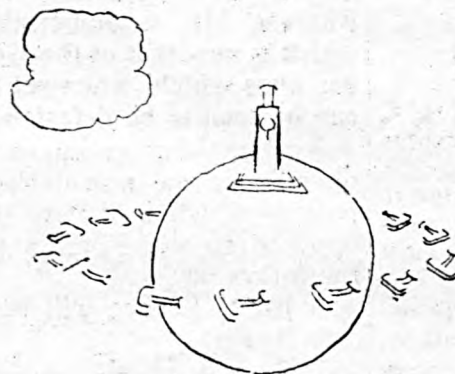
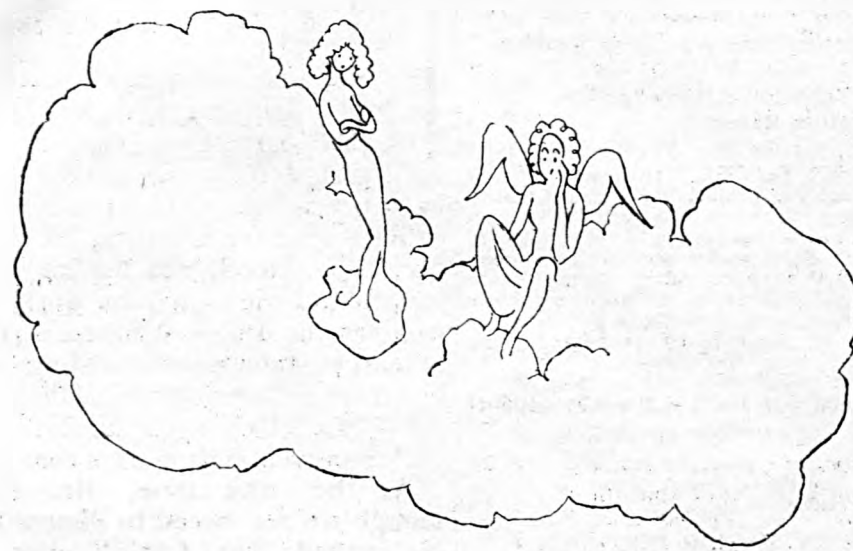
To make them strive for gain, build high their walls,

And take delight in spears and sharpened swords,

Before they beat them into pruning hooks.

The ideal of one rule, of unity in one God, of "the promise of an active and splendid peace and happiness in human affairs," has at least remained within the

"Angels Unite" drawn by Arthur Wragg



CLEVER, AREN'T THEY?

intellectual consciousness of mankind, even though this unhappy present seems farther removed from its realization than the warring "nations" of Isaiah's circumscribed universe.

St. Augustine, in his *Civitate Dei*, provided a starting-point for all medieval speculation on the world-State, and nearly a thousand years later, Dante, in his *De Monarchia*, laid upon some ideal emperor of the future the duty of acting as supreme peacemaker.

Yet another 600 years onward, Tennyson's remarkable prophecy in *Locksley Hall*, of "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," showed that the ideal of organized world peace still lived to provide a persistent if constantly defeated opposition to the scheme of the war-mongers.

(This article, which is reprinted by courtesy of the "Saturday Review," of New York, will be continued next week.)

Worth While Publications

- "PRAYERS THAT HAVE HELPED A MAN OF THE WORLD"—a 32 pp. selection of those prayers found to be of greatest comfort, inspiration and hope during many years of daily use by "A Man of the World," with illustrations inside title-page. Many thousands have been helped by this booklet. Price 3d. per copy, post free.
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THE ABOVE PUBLICATIONS can all be obtained from THE GUARDIAN PRESS, Guardian House, Walthamstow, London, E.17, or from any bookseller

KINDLY NOTE

Will pacifists, in their efforts to make the world a wholesome and better place to live in, remember the volume of suffering of animals subject to human power and domination, and help to make their world more free from fear, terror, and injustice at our hands, by supporting towards this end, the efforts of:

The Humane Education Society
80 Mosley Street, Manchester, 2

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

March 5, 1938.

PACIFISTS AND THE ROME TALKS

OF the conversations due to begin in Rome next week between the representatives of Italy and this country only one thing is known with any certainty. And that is the singularly unenlightening fact that no conditions have been attached to them. As regards the agenda, there is even less information, though it must, in fact, be more definitely prescribed. It is true that the particular report of Rome's intention to ask for a share in the control of the Suez Canal has been officially denied; but there remain a number of other speculations of varying degrees of speciousness. How can it be otherwise? It is one of the penalties of the policy of secret diplomacy with which we are cursed that it produces rumours, and rumours, by their very nature, tend to be alarmist rather than reassuring.

But a much more dangerous aspect of secrecy regarding foreign policy is the scope it gives to the statesman for bargaining, manoeuvring, and generally playing the chess-like game of power politics in which the peoples—whose only desire is for peace among themselves and not power, or even advantage—are merely the pawns, and in which other countries' interests, even possessions, rather than the negotiators' own, are the more important pieces. What, in these circumstances, is the position? Apparently, the Government's decision—as a result of which Mr. EDEN resigned—to negotiate with Italy at once is a step toward reconciliation. As such, no pacifist could possibly take exception to it. On the face of it, moreover, not even the undoubted loyalty of Mr. EDEN to a high conception of a legalistic peace should alter their view that it was a mistake thus to stand in the way of reconciliation.

But—and this is the whole point—there is a difference between reconciliation and buying off. The question is not now between reconciliation and collective "security," for the latter has at last been officially discarded as the myth that pacifists have always shown it to be. The question is between reconciliation, leading to a genuine peace, and some kind of burglar's union involving at least the threat of war as an ever-present danger. Even the rosier view of the Government's record, of its attitude toward foreign affairs, and of its reported redoubling of the arms race gives all too much encouragement to pessimism in this regard. But bitter experience offers no hope that the alternative of an attempt to apply the theory of collective "security" will take the form of removing the causes of the danger rather than of bolstering up the

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The Crisis in Foreign Policy

By

**BERTRAND
RUSSELL**

IN the disagreement between the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden, pacifists have reason, on the whole, to be glad that the views of the former have prevailed. The policy of so-called collective security, for which Mr. Eden stood, was leading by an inevitable logic to another world war, whereas the Prime Minister's policy at least postpones the issue for a number of years, during which there is a possibility of changes that will altogether prevent a first-class conflict.

At the same time, Mr. Eden, though we are forced to dissent from his methods, has, I think, aims with which most pacifists sympathize; whereas Mr. Chamberlain's policy, which is now that of the Government, has aims which, when set out baldly, can be seen to be detestable.

Among the more immediate consequences of the now-declared official policy—which is that of the City as opposed to the Foreign Office—are the following:

First, Franco will be victorious in Spain.

Second, no obstacle of any kind will be placed, either by us or by the Americans, in the way of the complete victory of the Japanese in China.

Third, in all likelihood Czechoslovakia will be absorbed by Germany without serious opposition from any Great Power, even the USSR.

Fourth, a government much further to the Right is to be expected in France, involving repeal of M. Blum's social legislation.

There is, I think, a more distant hope: that Germany and Italy may defeat the USSR while England and France preserve a benevolent neutrality.

All these consequences, except

status quo by meeting force with force. On the other hand, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has already pledged the Government, in the words of *The Times*, "to make the League more and more an instrument of moral rather than of material force and to work for its full restoration along these lines." In any case, the mere fact of attempting reconciliation is itself more likely to produce the necessary atmosphere in which alone can be brought about a change in foreign policy from the bargaining method to real reconciliation.

For this change is absolutely essential if, through whichever Foreign Secretary, we are to get peace. And it is that to which pacifists must now direct their efforts with renewed energy and determination. The interment of collective "security" having disposed of one war danger, there remains the danger of the policy of force and violence, or the threat thereof, even though those who apply it are scared stiff of war.

A sustained and well-directed campaign is now needed for, on the negative side, opposition to rearmament, air raid "precautions," the growth of fascism, and all the paraphernalia of fear (including the anti-fascism mania), and, more positively, a comprehensive peace treaty which will prevent war, together with the necessary steps leading up to it.

The Van Zeeland Report is by no means perfect. But at least its author tackled the problem from the right end. It is for pacifists to take it as their cue for pursuing that line and pressing upon the Government the desirability of directing the Rome talks toward the same purpose with a view to a world conference for the settlement of all differences.

There would be a rallying point for pacifists everywhere. There would be a task which would show the world that pacifists mean business. Along that path would be found further victories for pacifism and at last the hope of peace.

the third, we may assume that Mr. Chamberlain not only foresees, but desires.

Mr. Eden's policy, in my opinion, as in that of almost all pacifists, would have led, before long, to the destruction of European civilization in a war far more terrible than the last. But it is obvious that Mr. Eden neither foresaw nor desired this result.

THE Prime Minister's love of peace is of a strictly limited sort.

He keenly favours the rearmament programme, and he is prepared to fight in defence of purely British interests on two conditions: first, that there is a reasonable probability of victory; second, that there is no danger of a blow to the cause of reactionary politics anywhere. One of his reasons for not wishing to fight Mussolini is that a defeated Italy might become socialist or communist; another is that a war with Italy would involve the defeat of Franco.

Ever since the beginning of the Abyssinian question—indeed, ever since the Japanese aggression in Manchuria—conservatives have been in a difficulty, namely, that British imperialistic interests were opposed to the interests of capitalism and reaction.

The Japanese, the Italians, and the Germans have a political and economic system which many conservatives admire. The Russians are still thought dangerous, the Chinese are suspected of friendship with them, the French are their allies and have regrettable leanings to socialism. Some conservatives, like Mr. Eden and Mr. Winston Churchill, prefer, in this dilemma, the imperialist interests of Great Britain, but the majority prefer the interests of capitalism and reaction.

Socialists and communists have found themselves in a similar difficulty. The causes which they have at heart have become bound up with British and French imperialism, which Moscow has been supporting. Former pacifists have become the most ardent advocates of an adventurous foreign policy, and have found themselves compelled to acquiesce in rearmament. It is like the duel of Hamlet and Laertes, in which the combatants exchanged foils. The result, in that case, was fatal to both.

PACIFISTS neither love the dictatorships nor desire to attempt their overthrow by means of war; they cannot, therefore, agree either with the Prime Minister or with the Labour Party.

Ever since the communists acquired power in Russia in 1917, socialists, misled by the outward success of the Bolsheviks, have come more and more to believe that force is the only method of achieving their aims.

Violence on the one side begets violence on the other; Moscow's belief in force was largely responsible for fascism, and fascism converted many of our still hesitating socialists to the belief that their doctrines could only be spread by means of aero-

planes and poison gas under the control of a reactionary government. This amiable dream Mr. Chamberlain has rudely dispelled, and the armaments for which the Labour Party voted are to be used—as they ought to have foreseen—for purposes which they detest.

Dictatorship, whether of the Right or of the Left, is a product of war, and will not be destroyed by more war. It will disappear when the nations where it exists grow tired of it, and that will be when they cease to feel insecure. If a stable peace, however reactionary, could be established, the mood of violence would fade, and the world would take a turn for the better.

When you threaten a man's life, he does not think what a fine fellow you are, but sets to work to threaten yours. If you wish democracy, or socialism, or any other doctrine except militarism and tyranny, to spread and make converts, it is not at the point of the bayonet that you must offer it.

The Prime Minister's policy offers us a peace like that under the Holy Alliance after 1815—a peace imposed by reactionary tyranny, and punctuated by little wars for the suppression of local revolutions. It is not a cheerful prospect, but I think it is preferable to another world war. And the reaction will not last for ever.

When once the dread of a great war ceases to overshadow men's minds, the tyrannies will soften and then fade away. But so long as we crusade against them they will endure and in the end our crusading zeal will saddle us with a similar tyranny at home.

The Two Patriotisms

IN Giraudou's play "Electra" are contrasted two ideas of patriotism. The first, represented by Egisthe, king and soldier, is summed up in "my country, right or wrong," and excuses any evil committed in its name.

The second form is concerned with preserving the purity of the heart and mind and thinks of every country as part of a greater country still—the world. Another character, Electra, speaks of this wider patriotism:—

You are mistaken, Egisthe. This morning when they (gods) made you a gift of Argos, they also made me a gift.

They gave me the bent shoulders of the man who pulls the barges on the river, the smile of the washerwoman who washes on the river, a tiny naked baby running in the streets, the cry of the bird when set free, the moan of the mason who falls from the scaffolding and breaks his eyes, the small waters which resist the big currents but finally are carried away, the sick young man who coughs and smiles, the purple cheeks of my maid when blowing the charcoal to make a fire in my room...

I also thought that all these things in Argos—the tender, the modest, the beautiful, and the suffering, were given me. But no, they have given me the purple cheeks of all the fire-blowing maids in the world, the eyes of all the washerwomen, all the little waters swept away by streams and sea.

Argos is only a point in the Universe... My country is only a little town in this country... All that is my country, and it is this morning at dawn when they gave you Argos with its narrow boundaries, I discovered its boundaries to be the Universe.

What it is called is difficult to pronounce but it sounds something like Love and Justice.

PACIFISTS AMID MILITARISM IN FAR EAST

Evidence from Japan

Reports, from Chinese sources, of an anti-war movement in Japan, are confirmed by the following uncensored dispatch from Japan.

SOME two months ago I reported there was no evidence of even secret opposition to the war. I need to modify that somewhat, for the arrest of over 200 alleged communists proves that there is (writes a *Nofrontier News Service* correspondent).

I understand the real offence of most of them was opposition to the war. This was explicitly the case in the resignation of Professor Yanaihara at the Tokyo Imperial University.

EVIDENCE OF PACIFISM

Six university professors are under arrest for their anti-war attitude. So far as I know none of them is a Christian pacifist. They all seem to be philosophical pacifists.

The public denunciation of pacifism and these arrests in themselves constitute evidence that there is an appreciable amount of it in the country.

So far I have no evidence of official pressure on foreigners, though the police are known to have a list of all the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Japan.

"GOOD COMPANIONS"

Those who have read or seen Walter Greenwood's *Love on the Dole* and commiserated with Harry Hardcastle and his Helen, will, no doubt, be interested to know that in response to the appeal in *PEACE NEWS* a few weeks ago, the Good Companions have been enabled to arrange weddings for seven couples similarly placed.

The Good Companions express grateful thanks to "Elizabeth" and others who responded anonymously.

The dire need and abject misery, "way down East" is well nigh heart-breaking. Further gifts of bedding, boots and shoes and clothing for men, women and children are urgently wanted, and will be warmly welcomed. They should be sent to Charles Stuart, 8 Highcroft Road, Crouch Hill, London, N.19.

MAYOR ENCOURAGES PACIFISTS

Acton group of the Peace Pledge Union was given every encouragement by the local mayor in a public meeting held last week.

An audience of 350 people listened with interest to Lord Arnold, Dr. Alex Wood, Miss Elizabeth Thorneycroft and John Barclay. The collection realized £12.

The success of the meeting was largely due to efforts of many helpers who distributed leaflets to 9,000 houses.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS IN NEW YORK

The General Council of the World Youth Congress Movement has decided to convene the second World Youth Congress at New York from August 18 to 25.

The first World Youth Congress was held in Geneva at the end of August, 1936, and attended by 700 representatives of the youth of 36 countries and of 10 international organizations.

In each country the preparation of the congress is being left in the hands of the national committees of the World Youth Congress Movement.

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PEACE NEWS
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P.P.U. Group in Hong Kong

Special to Peace News

THERE is quite a large body of pacifist opinion in Hong Kong and a group of the Peace Pledge Union, with about eighteen members is going ahead despite great difficulties.

Some of these difficulties were told to *PEACE NEWS* by Mr. John D. MacLean, who has just arrived in England after a stay of 2½ years in Hong Kong.

"Militarism is simply rampant," he said, and went on to tell how the military intelligence officer for Hong Kong, who was present at a meeting addressed by Mr. MacLean and David Spreckley (formerly of PPU Headquarters' staff), had offered to "deal with" any anti-British people Mr. MacLean came across.

Nevertheless, the officer expressed his sympathy with pacifist ideas.

OFFICER'S WARNING

"On another occasion," said Mr. MacLean, "David Spreckley came into contact with some army officers.

"One of them, on the clerical staff, told Spreckley that names of PPU members were on a list for deportation in the event of trouble. Emergency regulations are already in force in Hong Kong."

Although there is quite a large body of pacifist opinion in the colony, it cannot be organized, for, as Mr. MacLean explained, "economically, it is impossible. Nobody, with the exception of the press, will employ pacifists."

Mr. MacLean himself had a regular monthly article published in the *Sunday Herald*.

Though the PPU group is open to all, so far there are no Chinese members.



This peace shop, the first venture of its kind in New Zealand, and described by a correspondent as "quite worth while," was opened a short while ago by the Christchurch branch of the No More War Movement.

MINISTERS REJECT ALL WAR Even for the League

From our own Correspondent

SIGNIFICANT, in view of the attitude of the Christian Church to war, was a resolution passed last week at the West Wales English Baptist Association meetings.

After a motion pledging unwavering faith in the principles of the League of Nations had been rejected, there was passed instead, by a majority of over two-thirds, the following:

We affirm our conviction that war is contrary to the will of God and incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ. It can never be justified, whether conducted by a section of a nation, by a nation as a whole, by an alliance of nations, or by the League of Nations. We, therefore, pledge ourselves never to support or sanction another war.

The Rev. T. R. King, of Mumbles, in proposing this, said that many Christians felt that Article Sixteen of the League Covenant was not in accord with the mind of Christ. They could not, therefore, pledge themselves to a war on behalf of or in the name of the League.

Mr. W. Williams, of Briton Ferry, seconded.

This resolution follows hard on the heels of a similar one passed by a meeting, at which the Bishop of Swansea presided, of over 140 local ministers and clergy.

Foundation for a New League

British Empire can End Drive to War

THAT the British Government must see to it that such changes in the monetary system were made as would ensure a square deal and no exploitation for every man, white, black, or yellow in the Empire, was the conclusion reached by Mr. Theodore Faithfull, when he addressed a joint meeting of the Peace Pledge Union and the Council of Action at Shrewsbury, last Saturday.

This would, he said be laying a foundation on which a new League of Nations could be built and would markedly reduce the incentive to war. The present system drove all nations to fight for the diminishing markets, while a sound system would lead to a vast increase of international trade freed from the inevitable and irreparable debts.

Mr. Faithfull had earlier clearly outlined the pacifist position. It was a mistake, he said, to assume that pacifists did not advocate the use of force. They held that violence, either physical or emotional, led to no solution of difficulties, but there were higher forms of force. The will-power of a group was a force that could be used in the form of prayer.

No one could estimate the potentiality of the unconscious intuitional level of the mind. Intellectually also, the same energy refused expression in violence could be used for solving the world's difficulties, and in giving confidence to a fearful and unstable world.

Mr. Faithfull outlined the growth of the financial system which he said controlled, and, in doing so, failed to distribute the agricultural and manufacturing products of the civilized and uncivilized world.

Sanctions had failed over Abyssinia—they would fail again. Germany and other countries were determined to free

themselves from control by an international financial oligarchy. Hitler's reply to the Van Zeeland report could not be clearer. "We do not want credits, but a foundations to live which enables us secure national existence by our own industriousness."

GANDHI MEETS LORD LOTHIAN

A meeting between Lord Lothian and Mr. Gandhi during the former's recent visit to India is reported in *Harijan*, Mr. Gandhi's weekly paper.

Lord Lothian was entertained for three days by associates of Mr. Gandhi, and devoted most of his time to the study of educational and other activities.

The activities that seemed to interest him most were those of the Village Industries Association, concerning which he said: "Most of us understand the non-violent movement."

"What we do not understand is the simplicity... Simplicity is apparently the corollary of non-violence."

Mr. Lloyd George's speech, delivered to a conference of Councils of Action of London and Home Counties in December, has just been published in booklet form under the title *Democracy at Bay*. Maps used by Mr. Lloyd George on that occasion are reproduced in the booklet, along with charts showing world trade and armaments expenditure. Copies (price 2d.) are obtainable from the Council of Action, Horseferry House, Horseferry Road, London, S.W.1.

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Canon Stuart Morris

Moves to Involve U.S. in War

LABOUR "VITALLY INTERESTED"

A CONCERTED attempt to involve the United States in war is alleged in a resolution adopted by the United Automobile Workers of America, through a unanimous vote of its International Board.

The resolution, which was almost ignored by the American Press, pointed out that

labour is vitally interested in any policy which may involve the people in a war because, in a war, labour does most of the dying.

Action urged by the automobile workers included:—

"Wholehearted endorsement" of proposals for a referendum before declaring war;

Warning to American citizens in Far Eastern war area that opportunity would be given them to be removed, but that if they stayed no further protection would be given;

Removal of all armed forces from China.

PACIFISTS CONFER ON STRATEGY

With the launching of the bigger navy programme and other evidence of a "drifting into war" policy on the part of the Administration, American pacifists realize the urgent need to confer about their strategy now and in case the country becomes involved in war.

Hence the calling of a Washington's Birthday Pacifist Conference on February 22nd, which was sponsored by members of many churches and peace organizations including:—

War Resisters' League, New History Society, Student Peace Service, Women's Peace Union, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, FoR, Universal Peace League, Society of Friends, New York Federation of Churches, Pax Group (Catholic), and Broadway Tabernacle.

Among the questions discussed at the conference were: How pacifist could best combat the drift to war; whether, in the case of war, alternative service should be accepted, and if so under what conditions; how to organize legal aid and services for COs; and what are the best ways for building an effective pacifist movement to-day in churches, colleges, schools, labour movements, and among farmers, &c.

INDIAN CONGRESS OPPOSES WAR PREPARATIONS

A series of nine resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee—the Executive Body of the Congress—at Wardha in its sittings from February 3-6, dealt with a wide range of subjects. Points from some of the resolutions follow.

Foreign Policy and War Danger.—"A free India will gladly associate itself with a world order and stand for disarmament and collective security. During the past few years... British foreign policy, in spite of its evasions and indecisions, has consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must, therefore, largely shoulder the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the world situation. That policy... is helping in the drift to imperialist world war."

"India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism."

The Congress disapproves of war preparations in India and states that in the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war this will be resisted.

Political Prisoners.—The Committee disapproves of the policy of resorting to hunger-strike on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain release, strongly endorses Mahatma Gandhi's recent appeal to strikers in Dacca Jail and appeals to others to give up hunger-strike. The committee calls upon the Government to remove the legitimate grievances of political prisoners in Bengal.

Federation.—"In regard to the proposed Federation, no such consideration applies even provisionally, or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injuries to India and tighten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination."

Indian States.—"The Congress stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States... the Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective."

WHIRLIGIG

by
Percival Gull

HERE GOES...

GOOD MORNING, everybody... Propaganda, as you probably know, is the only thing in life that really counts. The whole universe, from Bangkok to the Old Kent Road, is one vast storehouse of lies, calumnies, fibs, falsehoods, and jiggery-pokery.

Despair not, my hearties. This morning I bring you consolation. The Editor of PEACE NEWS has bribed me to fill one column a week with the sort of nonsense that goes in one ear and refuses to come out through the other.

Every week, until the War Office buys me off, you will be able to turn to this page, safe in the knowledge that Percival Gull is a man of wisdom, integrity, and honour, who never tells a lie until it's paid for.

Yesterday, when I was introduced to him, the Editor squirted two-penny-worth of ink over my Horse Guards tie; this morning he took me to the Dorchester, handed me carte blanche, and told me to order what I liked.

So here we are, folks. Naturally, you want to know something about me, so I shall begin by telling the story of my life. My autobiography was published recently, under the title *Fun in the Nineties*, and is reckoned to be the best thing written by a blurbmonger or society hostess during the last month.

EARLY DAYS...

IT happened one morning. I never knew. It must have. I can't remember. I was born.

All I can remember is Auntie Gertrude saying: "Where the dickens is Percy?" and then I was five years old.

I grew rapidly. My hair curled marvelously. When I was eight the Honourable Heliotrope Higgins was heard to describe me as a glub-glub. This was reckoned a compliment; my mother could remember when the Honourable Heliotrope Higgins had described her as a blub-blub.

Under the patronage of the Honourable Heliotrope Higgins I grew, and I grew, and I grew.

Next week: I become a Secret Agent, am captured by savages, swim the Hellespont and come under the lure of A Wicked Woman.

WIT'S CORNER...

"You can trust me."

Sententius Pontius Duncius, A.D. 1936.

GOSSIP...

THE other evening I went to a musical party, given by Mr. Heavenly Tickles, the novelist. The chief performer was Mr. Vladimir Vladwood, whose abstract violin-playing is earning him a fortune from European salonnieres.

Mr. Vladwood is every inch an artist, with that intense, vibrant manner which one expects of a genius. He reminded me of Sir Thomas Inskip.

His performance is interesting. He walks on to the platform, carrying a fully-loaded violin, then goes to the piano and bangs F sharp with his nose. Then he takes all the strings off his instrument and plays an unaccompanied Chaconne by Bach.

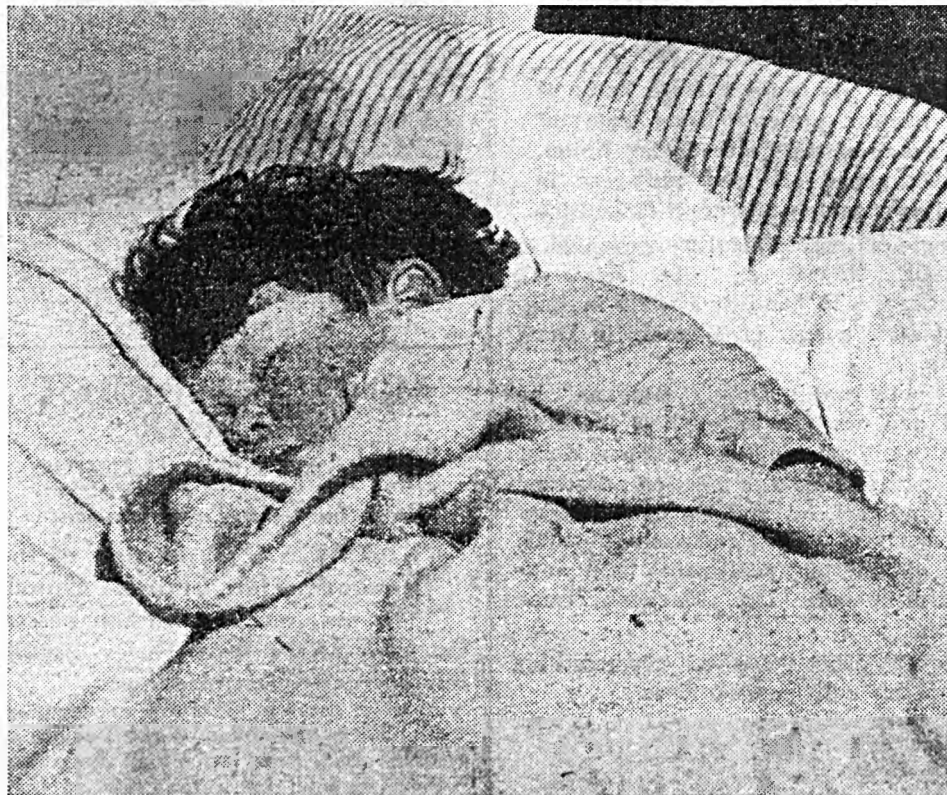
There is no sound at all. One is only conscious that Mr. Vladwood has finished when he takes the instrument from under his chin and proceeds to put back the strings. As the Duchess of Camberwell said to me: "You know he's playing, really and it saves you the trouble of listening."

His performance the other evening was only marred by continued interruptions from the Marquise de Pangloss, who kept tickling the Duc de Pomfret under the fourth rib and saying, "Stop it, Ponty, do!"

I was finally constrained to turn round and in a loud voice, say: "Do shut up, Marquise!"

Nor Does Fear Or Base Desire Rob Him Of His Easy Slumber

—Horace, Odes



We suppose most readers have, at one time or another, taken photographs out of the ordinary, like this one by C. E. Cowan. If you are particularly proud of one of your pictures send it along to us—we may be able to reproduce it.

WHO'S in the NEWS



FIRST the Editor, whose photograph this is. His name is Humphrey S. Moore, and he feels very self-conscious because it is not usual for editors to print their own portraits.

However, Mr. Moore is not to blame. So many readers have shown a personal interest in him that he has at last been persuaded to break the editorial rule. For once he leaves the grim solitude of his office and shows himself to his public.

Today is a red-letter one for the Editor. He saw the beginnings of PEACE NEWS when his own house was used as its offices and his wife worked indefatigably as his assistant.

He has watched it grow, until today he can offer his readers a full-size newspaper.

WIDE EXPERIENCE.

HUMPHREY S. MOORE began his journalistic career at Burton-on-Trent. After a thorough training on weekly and evening newspapers, he became a sub-editor on the *Sunderland Echo*. From Sunderland he migrated to London, and joined the staff of a London weekly.

Though he is only 29, Humphrey Moore has packed a good deal of activity into his life. Last year he visited America, and a few years ago, on behalf of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he did a speaking tour in France.

Besides the FoR, he is a member of the Society of Friends, and of its executive body. At one time he was also a No More War Movement campaigner.

Mr. Moore was Press Secretary to the National Peace Council for four years before he became Editor of this paper. Today, all his ambitions, both as pacifist and newspaperman, are centred on the growth of PEACE NEWS.

In a year's time, if today's new PEACE NEWS becomes the success to which Humphrey Moore's efforts entitle it, his friends will persuade him to print another photograph; this time showing a large, broad smile!

SHE WAS A NURSE.

MISS VERA BRITAIN first achieved literary prominence with *Testament of Youth*, though she had before then written several widely-read books. She is a journalist of high standing, and since leaving Oxford in 1920 has been a consistent contributor to all the leading British and American papers.

During the war she served as a volunteer nurse in London, Malta, and France. From 1922 to 1925 she was attached to the Headquarters staff of the League of Nations Union, making frequent visits to Europe and America and attending many meetings of the League Council and Assembly.

However, in 1936, she became convinced that collective "security" was a failure. She joined the PPU, and has since spoken many times from the pacifist platform.

Today, one of her chief interests is the promoting of Anglo-American friendship and she spends much of her time lecturing in America. Only recently she returned from her latest lecture tour there.

She is married, and is the mother of two children. Her husband is Professor George E. G. Catlin, who was at one time attached to a leading American university.

A KEEN DEBATER

LORD PONSONBY needs no introduction to anyone who takes a live interest in the activities of the PPU. With Mr. George Lansbury, he is perhaps the most indefatigable public speaker in the movement.

He is characterized by an easy-going manner, an apparent nonchalance that disarms his listeners and very often

PLAN or BURST

FURTHER comment on the economic muddle is provided by the following lines contributed to an American journal by Ogden Nash, under the heading, "Sans Statistics: One From One Leaves Two":—

Higgledy piggledy, my black hen,

She lays eggs for gentlemen;
Gentlemen come every day
To count what my black hen
doth lay.

If perchance she lays too many,
They fine my hen a pretty penny;
If perchance she fails to lay,
The gentlemen a bonus pay.

Mumbledy pumbledy, my red cow,

She's cooperating now.
At first she didn't understand
That milk production must be
planned;

She didn't understand at first
She either had to plan or burst;
But now the Government reports
She's giving pints instead of
quarts.

Fiddle-de-dee, my next-door neighbours,

They are giggling at their labours,

First they plant the tiny seed,
Then they water, then they weed
Then they hoe and prune and
lop,

Then they raise a record crop;
Then they laugh their sides
asunder,

And plough the whole kaboodle
under.

Abacadabra, thus we learn
The more you create, the less
you earn,

The less you earn, the more
you're given,

The less you lead, the more
you're driven,

The more destroyed, the more
they feed,

The more you pay, the more
they need,

The more you earn, the less you
keep—

And now I lay me down to sleep.

upsets his opponents. His keenness in debate was exemplified recently in a broadcast talk with Mr. Wickham Steed.

Lord Ponsonby began his career in the Diplomatic Service. He served in Constantinople and Copenhagen, and in 1921 was made Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; subsequently he became Under-Secretary for the Dominions and Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Transport.

From 1931 to 1935, Lord Ponsonby was Opposition Leader in the House of Lords.

He has written several books and is a Governor of the Royal College of Music.

A CLEVER CONTROVERSIALIST.

TO enumerate the books written by BERTRAND RUSSELL would fill this column. Perhaps the only living philosopher who has written quite so much is Professor C. E. M. Joad.

As a controversialist, Bertrand Russell always commands respect.

He threads his way through an argument with an almost relentless lucidity and says more in a short article than most writers can say in twenty pages.

In this issue Bertrand Russell deals with the crisis in foreign policy.

This new feature gives the

WOMAN'S Point of View

IT is proposed, under this heading, to publish every week, articles of particular interest to women. They will be written mainly by women, and will attempt to cover the whole range of women's pacifist and social activities.

We hope to persuade prominent women in various spheres to contribute to these columns, but contributions are also invited from the ordinary woman reader, who has an interesting experience to relate, a problem to pose, or a criticism or suggestion to put forward.

When Mr. G. B. Shaw aspired to guide intelligent women he wrote:

When silly people tell you that a loving heart is enough remind them that fools are more dangerous than rogues and that women with loving hearts are often pitiable fools. The finding of the right way is not sentimental work: it is scientific work, requiring observation, reasoning and intellectual conscientiousness.

Letters from readers make it clear that many women are aware of this danger. "I am sure that there is a lot of vague pacifist feeling especially among women which needs stimulating into action,"

NEXT WEEK

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE
will write for
this feature

writes a woman doctor; and from Liverpool comes the appeal: "Do you think anything can be done to foster the idea of bringing women strongly into the peace movement? I am convinced that we women could give a very effective turn to things if we could set about it in earnest."

THE PRACTICAL MIND.

What is the particular strength of woman as a worker for peace? If she is, as many philosophers have feelingly declared, dowered with small reasoning power and less logic, they admit, nevertheless, that her special job as woman has developed compensating qualities in her.

Perhaps the most useful of these is a practical turn of mind.

And while we are considering woman as a species, it is well to remember, that although we use the adjective womanly to denote qualities of gentleness and tenderness, these may become, in time of stress, unparalleled fierceness and cruelty.

There is a sentimental tendency to regard women as born pacifists, inclined to peace by the beauty of their own natures.

There is nothing more untrue.

Women are kind and tender to their children, in the majority of cases. But are they as kind to the child who blackens the eye of their offspring? And were they kind and tender to the children of Germany in 1914?

We must not rely too much on our gentler instincts to make us good pacifists. There must be hard and honest thinking as well as instinctive yearning.

We must be honest enough to want to know the facts about our own minds, even if the facts are unpalatable.

We are anxious to know what other women are doing for peace and social progress.

We want to know what other women are thinking and planning.

We want to clarify our thinking, and to discuss the problem of **organizing women for war resistance.**

★

If you have anything to say under any of these headings, these columns are open to you.

Fat Stock for Slaughter

IN a Suffolk village, Mrs. A. has 3s. 5½d. per head a week for food. Mrs. B. in Kent has 3s. She buys a pint of milk every day, and 1½lb. butter, 1½lb. cheese and 1s. 6d. worth of vegetables each week. The rest goes on potatoes, bread and groceries. She has seven children under fourteen.



Valeriana (seen above), one of the refugees in Basque House, describes life there, in a letter to her parents, as follows:—

I will tell you the story of the life that we pass in this house:

A bell rings for us to get up I get up I go to wash myself and then the bell rings again and we go to breakfast and then to work and afterwards the bell rings again and we go to classes of Spanish and English and then the bell rings again and we go to eat and then we have gymnasium and then Spanish classes and then we play and then the bell rings again and we to supper and then we go to study and then there is dancing and then to bed.

(Phew! "Call it a day!")
Other Basque House news in "Under the Oak Tree," page four.

These cases are quoted in the Labour Woman for February.

At the Recruits Physical Development Depot, says a special correspondent of *The Times*, most of the recruits are under weight when they arrive. But then, after years of undernourishment, they are fed as growing lads ought to be fed.

Tea, two biscuits, 1oz. barley sugar in the early morning.

Porridge and milk, liver and bacon or egg, bread and marmalade for breakfast.

Banana, soup, or cocoa at mid-morning break.

Lancashire hotpot, or roast beef with plenty of vegetables, followed by treacle roll or prune tart and custard for dinner.

Bread, butter, and jam for tea.

Fish and chips or cottage pie for supper.

What a lunatic world that starves the children until recruiting age, and then concerns itself with producing fat stock for slaughter.

War Against Children

THE following is an extract from a leaflet written and circulated by a woman sympathizer:—

It is taken for granted that each nation will use poison gas, against which the defence is admittedly very difficult, especially for children, who would be likely to suffer most from its use.

Whatever differences of opinion there may be about the best means of preventing war, there can be no difference of opinion about the inhumanity of using poison gas against a civil population, and no human being who is sane can wish to kill "foreign" children, even when at war with their country.

Is England making gas to be used in this way?

If people thought about these things, if each man and woman asked themselves the question: "Do I personally wish an enemy's children to die in pain and terror?" public opinion could, and would, insist on preventing the manufacture of gas for such a purpose, and determine that this country at least would not so use it.

As a contribution to the cause of humanity, it is suggested that the various peace organizations should take steps to stimulate public opinion on this matter.

Those women who are interested in giving wider publicity to this appeal, should write for further details to:—

WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW,
PEACE NEWS,
17, Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

Willing to be Plundered

THERE was much suffering on the island of Nantucket during the Revolutionary War, unable as they were to pursue their usual whaling industry.

Also they were liable to plunder from privateers who could only gain access to their one harbour while the wind was from the west, and on several occasions they had been prevented from entering by long-continued easterly winds.

But now providence seemed to have forsaken them, for a vessel flying English colours anchored where she could command the town with her guns. A boat was seen to put off from her, and divers of the inhabitants were gathered on the wharf in anxious expectation.

As an officer stepped ashore, William Rotch, a prominent Friend, offered him his hand and said, "I would like thee to come to my house." This was a different reception from what had been expected, but supposing him to be a loyalist the officer went, it being near noon. William said, "I would like thee to take dinner with me."

After it was over, the officer, feeling that he must be about the business he was sent on, said, "I came here for plunder and I would like you to tell me, as a friend, how and where I had better begin."

William said, "I don't know any better place for thee to begin than here at my house, for I am better able to bear the loss than anyone else."

Looking at him curiously, "Are there any more men like you on this island?"

"Yes, there are many better men than I am here."

"I should like to see some of them."

"Well, I will introduce thee to some of our leading citizens."

Going into a store he said, "This man distributed 400 barrels of flour among the poor of the island last winter."

After talking a while he was taken to another store and told of something similar that man had done. On leaving, the officer extended his hand to William saying, "Farewell." He put off to the ship, she weighed anchor and that was the last they saw of her.

—Howard T. Jones, Iowa, quoted by A Ruth Fry in *Victory without Violence*, 2d.

MARK TWAIN'S PRAYER

O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells, help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriots dead;

help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded writhing in pain;

help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire;

help us wring the hearts of their un-offending widows with unavailing grief;

help us to turn them out roofless, with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated lands in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun-flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes who adore Thee.

Lord blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet. We ask of One Who is the spirit of love and Who is the ever-faithful Refuge and Friend of all that are so sore-beset and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts.

Grant us our prayer, O Lord, and Thine shall be the praise and honour and glory now and ever.

—From *I Have Been Young*, by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

BLACK-OUT

From a Correspondent

Lincoln now has regular searchlight drill on Thursday evenings, and as about fifteen people assembled for a wireless listening-group to hear Dr. Salter last week, six great beams of light were searching the skies.

Eight-thirty came. The set was switched

IS IT PEACE?

The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

By NIGEL SPOTTISWOODE

IT is difficult to review a talk with which one is in entire agreement. Dr. Salter's opening remarks came as a breath of fresh air, for he was the first speaker in this series to show that the issue of peace is basically a personal issue.

Listeners to the talks must often have thought "That's all right, but where do I come in?" The establishment of peace has too often been presented as a matter of pacts, alliances, and other arrangements between Governments.

In the midst of these mass abstractions, far too large and nebulous to be imaginatively comprehended, the individual man feels lost. He feels himself so insignificant compared with the vast power of organized society that he tends more and more to think that "society"



Dr. Alfred Salter

or "the nation" has a being and a will independent of the members who compose it.

This is the philosophy of totalitarianism—of the transcendent State. It is a philosophy of moral despair, for it teaches that the actions of men are in themselves amoral and can only be judged by their utility to the State.

In the philosophies of Spengler and Marx there is no higher authority than the State. Indeed there cannot be, for the State is an abstraction and has no conscience. Its actions are Machiavellian and its values strategical.

When two such machines are in conflict their actions are diabolical beyond imagination.

The total State devoid of moral values leads inevitably to total war. War indeed is the highest manifestation of such a society, for in war it finds the greater scope for its efficiency and ruthless self-interest.

Man has sold his soul to the devil for the illusion of material prosperity, and as usual, the devil has got the best of the bargain. By renouncing our conscience to the State we have created a society which is permanently at war.

We can only create the conditions of a peaceful and creative society by re-asserting conscience as the basis of our individual actions. And if we do this, if we renounce the activity of war, then we must renounce the conditions which produce war.

Our own conditions of economic advantage over the people of other nations and over classes within our own nation can only be maintained by methods of violence.

If we renounce the one, then we must renounce the other. If we repudiate war, the manifestation of economic inequality, we must accept as the basis of our lives the equality of all men throughout the world.

On a voice, "This is the National Programme. 'The Way of Peace' —" and immediately lights and radio went off, and across the darkness outside the searchlights swung on to a bomber racing across the city.

It was only a fuse that had caused the black-out, but it provided a caustic comment on the "National programme."

NEW BOOKS

REVOLT FROM RUSSIA

ASSIGNMENT IN UTOPIA. By Eugene Lyons. Harrap. 15s.

RUSSIA IN CHAINS. By Ivan Solonevitch. Williams and Norgate. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by

WALTER GREENWOOD.

TWO more volumes to be added to the seemingly endless stream of books on Russia. This fruitful subject attracts two kinds of writers, those for and those against: to the latter category belong the volumes under notice.

First, Mr. Lyons. When a journalist escapes the sub-editorial blue pencil and sits down to write a book he is not unlike a hard-worked draught horse turned out to grass, a momentary bewilderment, then a clumsy gallop all over the place. Mr. Lyons would have been well advised to have submitted his book to a competent sub-editor with full authority to remove all repetitions. Out of 648 pages, by removing 324, Mr. Lyons would have had a most interesting volume after his name.

Having lived in America on a diet of communist propaganda he went out to Russia an ardent convert, but what he saw there disenchanted him. Few readers will wish to doubt the veracity of Mr. Lyons' detail but whether they will agree with his interpretation is another cup of tea.

Certainly Mr. Lyons' efforts are marred by his trying to make Bernard Shaw's Russian visit that of a humbug. This, and his gratuitous references to the Webbs, the fact of Mr. Lyons' apostasy, of his sending, as Chief Correspondent of United Press of America, "coloured" dispatches which he must have known would deceive others as he had been deceived, puts Mr. Lyons into that class of people who are not notable for their maturity of mind or opinion. Withal, readers will find many things of interest in Mr. Lyons' pages, but the better of these two books is Ivan Solonevitch's *Russia in Chains* whose subtitle "A Record of Unspeakable Suffering," reveals the book's nature.

Books like these will continue to be written and they must take their chance against works like *Soviet Communism* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

JEW AND GENTILE

YOUTH AND ANTI-SEMITISM. By W. W. Simpson. Epworth Press. 1s.

With books on the Jewish problem which have been stimulated by bitter personal experience and disappointment the world is sadly well supplied.

Here is one that has a happier background, for Mr. Simpson is Hon. Secretary of the Youth Council on Jewish and Christian Relationships, and this book has been written out of experience of mixed Jewish and Christian discussion groups and "adventures in friendship." It is in this context, perhaps, that the book is best considered. Setting aside the crudities of vicious anti-Semitism, what are the difficulties that emerge when the problem is considered with every effort of good will?

Mr. Simpson points out that two of the present attempts to solve the Jewish problem are fundamentally the same as older ones. Zionism is "the modern form of the age-long tendency on the part of Jews to segregate themselves"; assimilation is the individual tendency toward conformity expressed as a definite policy. To the non-Christian Gentile, assimilation seems the perfect solution, but the author, as a Christian, expresses comprehension of the objection by orthodox Jews that assimilation often leads the Jew to forsake his traditional religion.

After quoting from a report of Jewish youth leaders who had emphasized the importance of Jew and Gentile children learning to know one another, Mr. Simpson says:

The report does not approve of any suggestion for the setting-up of mixed non-sectarian clubs because of the obvious difficulties associated with any attempt to find a common religious basis, and because of the serious impoverishment that would result for both parties from the complete exclusion of the religious element.



A Soviet "Palace of Industry"

When past events, for many of which the Jews are in no way responsible, but which cannot the less be ignored, have caused isolation by tending to concentrate the Jews in certain countries, in certain districts, and even in certain trades, social mixing in the hours of leisure becomes of paramount importance. Is religion to be a bar to it?

Clearly only a religion—whether Jewish or not—that has little tendency toward a closed community can work in effortless harmony within the larger community. This proved as true of the early Christians as of the modern Jews, though with the difference that the modern Jews make less attack on the standards of the larger community than did the early Christians in their day. Whether community peace or the intensification of religion is to be preferred is a question always for the individual conscience. But it is the question.

This whole matter is a pacifist problem in the fullest sense, a problem of the peaceful relation of peoples. In one thing it is easier than the international one; there are no armed boundaries: Jew and Gentile can meet face to face. It is a field which the individual can explore. I do not think pacifist groups would be leaving their proper studies if they gave a few hours' attention to this book.

CHARLES JOHNSON.

PLAYS FOR THE PEACEFUL

TEN PEACE PLAYS. Edited with an Introduction by R. H. Ward. Preface by Storm Jameson. Dent. 5s.

In *Ten Peace Plays* Mr. R. H. Ward has collected ten one-act propaganda plays, none of which should be too difficult for amateur dramatic groups to perform.

If we are in the habit of thinking of propaganda plays as consisting mainly of ponderous and impersonal argument, or else of turgid symbolism, we can find reassurance in his introduction. He writes:

The propaganda play is always a difficult and problematic affair. So often it is all propaganda and no play... the only hope for propaganda drama is that it should have its audience in a good mood from the rise of the curtain. This can only be done by giving it what it wants, and what it wants, since it has come to a theatre, is entertainment.

Perhaps to have included as many as ten plays in the book was putting a strain on the supply of first-class work. They are not all up to the same standard. Beside Martha Steinitz's *Tarakin* most of the others look slightly manufactured. One or two, even, are not much more than platitudes.

But any book is worth studying that contains *Tarakin*, with its simplicity of expression and integrity of character. Robert Victor's *The Pen is Mightier*... which brings exuberant satire into use, a quality that would improve a good deal of propagandist literature, and also Edith M. Barling's *The Governor*.

Mr. Ward divides these plays into positive plays and negative plays. This is a division that leads so easily to the assumption that the positive statement must be the more valuable that it may be a good thing to question whether the division is really useful.

To make a positive statement is much more difficult than to make a negative one. It needs greater individuality. It needs to be more completely absorbed into the characters that have to express it. It needs a complete freshness of context. For nearly all the positive

statements are as old as the hills, and unless the dramatic situation succeeds in giving them some of their original revelatory quality, they sound just as old as they are.

Nothing can sound so trite, so worthily dull, so exasperatingly pleased with itself, as a positive statement that relies a little too heavily on its moral truth. A negative statement makes lesser pretensions, and tends to fulfil them with greater success; its implications, besides, are often positive, and are all the more effective because they have not been hammered in.

In this book of plays it is some of the positive plays that are the dullest. But *Tarakin* is certainly a positive play, and only the happy scurrility of *The Pen is Mightier*... comes near it in impressiveness.

MORNA MACTAGGART.

WISDOM OUT OF KNOWLEDGE

WORLD BRAIN. By H. G. Wells. Methuen. 3s. 6d.

Readers of "World Encyclopædia," the first paper in Mr. Wells' book, will be disappointed; Mr. Wells' enthusiasm to get at the particular Utopia which has occupied his attention for forty years has always led him to bring about the Great Change from chaos to Wellsian order by a literary device with little bearing on reality.

Once it was a green planetary mist which made all men good and wise, now it is a World Encyclopædia. For though toward the end of the paper the author says, "I am not saying that a World Encyclopædia will solve any one of the vast problems which must be solved," yet that seems to be what he does believe.

Briefly, the paper proposes that a World Encyclopædia, a work constantly freshened and growing which shall be a central depository for all current knowledge, scientific, philosophical, and social, should be compiled and made universally available.

This is good, so far as it goes, which is not very far, as anyone knows who has tried to make a card index system really effective in a business organization. Mr. Wells would make abstracts of authoritative literature on all subjects the basis of his Encyclopædia. But he says nothing of the control of the interpretation of the facts.

Nevertheless, the project is a great one, deserving of careful study, although the author does not suggest how the practical difficulties of deciding who and what is authoritative are to be overcome, nor how to defeat the opposition which would be raised to the circulation of the work in totalitarian States.

The paper is well worth reading, if only for the light it sheds upon the fallacy that *knowledge* is wisdom. For that is Mr. Wells' implication. He complains that modern technics has not been accompanied by development of similar progress in the human spirit and human nature; yet he sneers at the communists who, whatever you may think of them, do believe in order, discipline, and planning as strongly as does Mr. Wells.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the author might have glanced at Gerald Heard's essays in popular interpretation of scientific progress (*Science in the Making*, &c.), for it seems that in them he would have found a real model of what is required to make the whole world clear-minded on the importance of cooperation and the essential evil and folly of competitive living in that world of magnificent possibilities which Mr. Wells has so often presented.

As to the other papers and lectures in this pithy and absorbing little book, they are full of the keen observation and directed judgment which one expects from their author. It is little wonder that so diffusely informed a mind lays so much stress upon information *qua* information.

EDWARD S. HYAMS.

A Playwright in Wartime

AND THE STARS LAUGHED. By Fanny Jocelyn. Fortune Press. 7s. 6d.

Propaganda in the form of fiction calls for greater abilities in the author than any other form of writing. Only a handful of the great authors such as Dickens, Zola, and Charles Reade have been really successful in this branch of literature.

This novel deals with the experiences of a playwright who is also a hundred percent pacifist, and whose life is caught up in the maelstrom of 1914-18. His circle of acquaintances, many of whom were in wholehearted agreement with his ideals in peacetime, are gradually led away by the "king and country" claptrap of the day, and he suffers ostracism and imprisonment culminating in the desertion of his fiancée.

After the Armistice, the inevitable reaction in public opinion carries the hero into the position of a "best seller."

The story will probably be enjoyed by those who appreciate literature of the highly emotional character, since it is largely made up of psycho-analytical heart-searchings.

The pacifist position, with its implications, is accurately presented, but, in my opinion, the success of the story as propaganda is marred by the fact that its emotional artistry is of the "palette knife" variety.

F. STROUDE.

From Every Angle

WAR AT ANY PRICE? By T. Finnegan. 6 College Avenue, Londonderry. 3d.

Professor Finnegan, who is on the staff of Magee University College, Londonderry, makes no great claims for this pamphlet.

It is written, he explains, to make his position as a pacifist clear to some of his local critics, and in the hope that the people of Derry may be more inclined to read a pacifist statement by someone known to them. In fact, as the author emphasizes, it is mainly a compilation from what might be called the pacifists' standard reading list.

But when all this has been admitted, the reasons for modesty are at an end. Within the space it is doubtful if better use could have been made of the material. No aspect of pacifist thought is neglected, from the personal pacifism of Joseph Pennell, to the philosophical pacifism of *Ends and Means*. The deficiencies of military "defence," the problems of raw materials, and relations of pacifism to New Testament teaching are all considered.

It is not a pamphlet to recommend to any hardened pacifist, for himself. All that is in it he should already know. But he would do well to obtain it for his less convinced friends, from whatever attitude they start.

No general pamphlet of the kind has been more clearly and directly written, and it has the additional advantage of being the most recent. It will be a great mistake if the circulation of this pamphlet is limited to County Derry.

PACIFIST CONVENTIONS

In an appeal for financial support in the furtherance of its work the Parliamentary Pacifist Group reveals that it has already decided to embark upon preparations for at least ten Conventions during 1938 which will involve an expenditure of £500. "You will be glad to know," the report continues, "that each of the Conventions held so far has yielded a balance on the right side, largely due to the generous response made to appeals for support."

CITIZENSHIP

Because she refused to bear arms "in defence of her country," though she was willing to perform non-combatant service, a 72-year-old American-born woman, who had lost her citizenship through marriage, was refused citizenship by the U.S. District Court of Jacksonville.

At about the same time, another Court admitted to citizenship a gambler who had been convicted eight times for illegal activities.

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Ends and Means

MR. KAY asks in your issue of February 19 of any instance in history where good came of an evil action where the good would not have come but for that action.

The answer is, Calvary.

God is omnipotent. Evil actions are only allowed because God wills that "All things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to this purpose." "It must needs be that offences come but woe unto that man by whom the offence cometh. Neither God nor His sons then will do evil that good might come of it, although He can use men's evil actions to bring about His ends."

Christ commanded us to love our enemies. (Take them to court individually and punish them, yes—whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth—but murder them, NO!). If our enemies are so bad that war is necessary, let them war amongst themselves—if we are in line, with God's will, He is all the protection we want, and if we are not, murder will not help us.

If we ask what about the poor "innocents" that are suffering in the process, we have Christ's answer: Fear not him who is able to destroy the body and after that can do nothing. God will look after the poor innocents as he looked after the "Son of Man."

A. HEDLEY COLE.

65, Broomwood Road, S.W.11.

Your correspondent, Mr. W. S. Kay, writes an informative and interesting letter in your issue February 19, but there is one major point to which we wish to draw attention—the statement that treatment of a child by violence cannot be compared with warfare.

Mr. Kay says that "if a child is violently spanked, it is with the good intention of making it realize its folly . . . by physically making it smart . . ."

In the first place we feel very definitely that violent spanking has almost invariably an evil intention, often subconscious, based mainly on hatred. Secondly, it seems to us that the most weighty evidence of experienced people belies the latter half of this statement: we do not think that violence toward a child or any individual, causes a realization of folly except in a very restricted sense.

Moreover, it is most unlikely that such treatment will have the desired effect of causing the individual's brain to act in a "more constructive and moral direction." To quote Mr. Pekin in *Let us Honour Peace*: "Most punishment is futile and all punishment is wrong."

It seems, in fact, that Mr. Kay makes an excellent analogy of modern warfare after the following fashion:—

1. **The Cause**—a presupposed good intention for declaration of war (e.g. the well-known excuses "Preservation of innocent states", "Recognition of facts", &c.).

2. **The Result**—a "physical smart" caused by a "violent spanking" of the enemy nation.

3. **The Corollary**—moral destruction of the "spanked" nation resulting in hatred, discontent, revolution and in fact all the symptoms we should expect from a much chastized child.

We think Mr. Kay has unwittingly provided careful evidence in support of the belief that "non-violence begins at home."

MAX WALKER,
MARGARET WALKER.

Squirrel Cottage,
Woldingham, Surrey.

DEAR SIR . . .

Eden Controversy

OUT of the sound and fury of recent debates in the House one question emerges for pacifists. What sort of peace do we stand for? Because "peace" can mean the mere avoidance, by any precarious expedient, of a state of war, or it can mean a settled condition of life based on mutual confidence, mutual friendship and mutual cooperation. This in the opinion of most people is the only kind of peace worth striving for—either pacifically or otherwise.

But, as pacifists, we have also to face the fact that life does sometimes present us with irreconcilable facts; that we do meet characters unresponsive to generous gestures, that certain conditions of mind are closed by their very nature against conciliation.

We have also to face the fact that peace may be sought not for its own sake but because of some pressing self-interest, of some material compulsion, or as a simple playing for time. And these circumstances make all the difference to the kind of "peace" we can look for.

Finally, we have to face the fact that it takes two to make a peace just as it takes two to make a quarrel—and of both parties it demands sincerity of purpose, community of aim, and a certain disinterested goodwill. Failing that, any peace achieved can be no more than a delusion in which we shall hide our heads from more terrible things to come.

It was, I take it, some such idea that was in Eden's mind when he made his plea for evidence of a basis on which a firm and lasting peace might be built. That plea was not incompatible with a sincere desire for settlement.

There is something also to be said for Winston Churchill's general contention that the mills of God grind surely, if slowly, and that with the best intentions in the world we are not required to throw a spanner into their workings.

Certainly it is human enough (whether in dictators or in ourselves) to wish to escape the results of our own mistakes—but that is not the same thing as wishing for peace. One remembers Gandhi's dictum that pacifism dictated by fear is less commendable than fighting based on almost any sort of conviction—and fear, I take it, may be equally a fear of getting hurt, a fear of economic breakdown, a fear of revolution or even a fear of war.

That is not to say that the Government is mistaken in seeking conciliation. It is rather to underline the rightness of Eden insofar as he has drawn attention—however indirectly—to the fact that conciliation must be more than a matter of gesturing, that peace cannot be divorced from principle, and that the word itself can be used to signify things of widely differing quality and character.

As for ourselves, as seekers after peace—we are counseled, are we not, to be "harmless as doves," but also "wise as serpents"? And, as pacifists, it looks as if we shall need to be very clear in the coming days, not only that we stand for peace, but about what manner of peace we stand for. Otherwise we may be led into strange wildernesses by many wandering lights.

LESLIE STUBBINGS.

Chancton, Dartnell Park,
West Byfleet, Surrey.

As a fellow pacifist and a fellow socialist I want to protest against the tone of Mr. J. H. Hudson's article on the Eden controversy in this week's PEACE NEWS.

I do not wish this letter to be taken as a personal criticism of Mr. Hudson, for whom I have a great respect for his persistent stand for pacifism in Parliament. But his article is a striking example of the unduly critical—sometimes contemptuous—attitude of some pacifists toward those who believe in collective security.

The Labour Party has some jingos among its leaders (perhaps names had better not be mentioned), but their attitude is not typical. In discussions with my socialist acquaintances who are believers in collective security I find that we are in agreement on ninety percent of the ground.

We all hate war; we all hate the domination of the strong over the weak, whether by military or economic methods; we all agree that the present conceptions of imperialism and national sovereignty must go; we all believe that international relations must be conducted on a basis of general principles rather than expediency; we all consider that the test of both domestic and international policy should be the welfare of ordinary individuals the world over; we all believe in democratic methods as the best means of achieving these ends.

On the other hand many supporters of the present Government do not believe in any of these things; they certainly wish to avert war, but the mere wish to avert war is not pacifism.

At the present juncture a pacifist Prime Minister of this country would presumably say something like this to Mussolini (of course in proper diplomatic language):

You have behaved abominably in Abyssinia and in Spain, but we also have behaved abominably at many times and in many places. We are determined to make a fresh start on a better basis, won't you cooperate?

In contrast to this the present Government seems to be saying, implicitly if not explicitly:

We are determined to maintain the present British Empire and present British interests by increasing our armed strength. The increasing armed strength of Italy is likely to be a menace to our interests; let us make a bargain before it is too late. We dare not protest against the misdeeds of Mussolini lest he should reply with his grievances against us and we must not take too much trouble about whether our bargain harms the interests of other countries.

There is no agreement between these two attitudes.

Pacifists should guard against the constant mistake made by many movements in the past—that of attacking most bitterly those with whom they are most nearly in agreement and confusing their friends with their enemies.

(Miss) CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE.

8 Reddings Road,
Moseley,
Birmingham, 12.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.



Intellect

WITH regard to the belief in absolute and relative pacifism, supporting Aldous Huxley's views myself, I honestly and sincerely believe that conviction of absolute pacifism cannot be attained through intellectual discussion only, especially so far as letters to the Editor are concerned.

It seems to affect a much deeper level than that of the intellect, although by this I do not imply uncontrolled emotionalism. It is the old "realization," "conversion," call it what you will, but it remains in plain language, a "knowing," a conviction that one is viewing from the ultimate angle.

Now, if we human beings could arrive at that end by one standard experience or line of argument, we would then lose a faculty that has taken thousands of years to develop, namely, our individuality.

Where intellectual discussion can be applied on this point to very great advantage in my opinion, is in the groups of a few people numbering not over twelve, a suggestion so admirably presented by Aldous Huxley and Robert (Continued on page 14, col. 1.)

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Signposts . . .

. . . from History

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MORE WAR

1858. European colonists in New Zealand were "buying" tribal lands from individual Maoris who had no right to sell.

The Maori chiefs banded together to resist these "sales."

The Governor, Colonel Browne, was persuaded to declare the Maoris rebels, and sent armed forces against them.

These were at first defeated, but at last succeeded in seizing certain disputed lands at the mouth of the Waitari river.

1863. Sir George Grey, who had been sent back to New Zealand as Governor, found that the Maoris were in the right about the Waitara land, but he could not persuade the colonists to give it up.

A fresh Maori war broke out which developed into a merciless struggle of race against race, with frequent atrocities on both sides. Fighting did not come to an end until Gladstone's first government withdrew all British troops.

The Maoris can still boast: "We never sued for peace; we only left off fighting." Maoris and Europeans now live on very good terms with each other.

S. D. U.

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LETTERS—continued

Clegg. I, myself, could not possibly convey in any letter or article the logic and infallibility of absolute pacifism of which I am convinced. Nor, I believe, could any man.

I mention this in the hope that the various people concerned will consider it worth trying.

LESLIE WOOD.

Grand Hotel, Brighton.

Van Zeeland Report

We write with some sense of urgency to appeal to pacifists to pause and consider before lending their whole-hearted support to the Van Zeeland report.

It is being freely said by leaders of the pacifist movement that pacifists should support this report and its application. Let us ever be wary of leaders: the inner conviction of each man should be his guide to action. Let us also be wary when the plan of a banker and politician is hailed as offering peace and plenty to the world. Shall we pluck figs of thistles?

If pacifists are to build for permanent, world-wide and real peace, then they must read deeper into the story of imperialism than merely to see it as the cause of inter-European wars and quarrelling between world powers. The whole business is a crime.

The pacifist should study the story of India and of Africa and of China; let him study also the problems of the over-populated European countries and Japan, but let him seek a solution to these latter problems such as will not involve war and violence. (The maintenance of empire—whether by individual countries or a league of Powers—must involve war and violence.)

If Europe's history has left her with a problem of an insupportable population, then it is for Europeans to approach the more favoured parts of the world as men with a need to be met and a favour to ask; prepared to live in these other countries as guests, and grateful guests at that, eventually to become an accepted part of the population of their chosen homes.

STANLEY & MARGARET KEEBLE.

91, Poppleton Road, E.11.

Duty of Pacifists

It has been suggested in PEACE NEWS that at a Parliamentary Election where both candidates support re-armament, it is the duty of pacifists to abstain from voting. We contend that such a course is foolish.

It is our duty to support any alternative to a government which has sacrificed a chance of international agreement for abolishing bombing from the air, in order to maintain its right to destroy the homes of some of its most ignorant subjects.

A discussion on Home Policy would perhaps be out of place in your columns, but it does not seem inappropriate to suggest that pacifists should actively support all peaceful measures to provide opportunities for a fuller life to the "Have-nots" at home as well as abroad.

Although both parties have adopted the deplorable policy of increasing armaments, do not let us forget that there are other issues which are not unimportant. We must not lose any opportunity to improve the lot of those who are suffering most from the injustices of capitalism and imperialism.

RUTH H. OLIVER.
H. BRIAN OLIVER

42 Seaforth Gardens,
Stonleigh,
Surrey.

The Church

Your weekly commentary, "Signs of the Times," by J. Middleton Murry, surprises me. His previous statement that "we must not condemn a visible Church because it maintains that a man may be a Christian and participate in modern war; a Church must include more than pacifists," I cannot accept.

Again, he wishes to know if it is contended "that the Church of England speaking authoritatively should declare that participation in modern warfare is unchristian." Most certainly that is contended.

Mr. Murry claims that before anyone may condemn the Christian Church on the ground of permitting its members to serve in the wars he must be himself carrying out every Christian law perfectly. This may be very desirable, but it is not logic.

There are some things which a Christian must be. He must believe in Christ. That admits of no argument. He may be quite a moral man otherwise but a Christian must accept Christ: as the name implies; and the Church of England must say that.

Now the whole spirit and genius of Christ's life and teaching is pacifist beyond a peradventure; so if the Church which bears his name is to preach Christ, it must preach pacifism as essential to his followers.

I do not hesitate to assert that if the Church of Christ cannot decide what is the "Mind of the Master" it has forfeited its right to represent him in the world.

If the unanimous voice of the Church were to say today "No more war" there would be none.

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Glen Fruin,
Cults, Aberdeen.

FUN IN A NEW
FILM FAIRY TALEDisney's Dwarfs Steal
the Picture

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs.
—New Gallery, London.

THE dwarfs steal the picture. These rollicking little men make it one long laugh, and Snow White seems a little lifeless alongside their robustness.

They really live, and impress their personalities on one in a perfectly irresistible way; it is impossible not to fall in love with them at first sight.

Bashful has a romantic soul and a wonderful tomato-red blush, which covers him in confusion whenever Snow White addresses him. Sneezing seems to spend most of his time trying to control an uncontrollable whirlwind sneeze.

Sleepy does his level best to keep the pace set by the others, but can't suppress a prodigious yawn every now and then. Happy has something Falstaffian about him in more ways than one. The venerable Doc is the leader of the band; the youngest is the mute, Dopey, always in the rear, always trying to keep in step with the others, and always full of laughter.

SUPREME
SCENES

But the seven lovable little gentlemen are not the only attractions. Snow White is delightfully winsome, even if the dwarfs do overshadow her.

And, of course, the Disney animals, the rabbits, the squirrels, and the deer, are there and help the blue-tits and the tom-tits to give the whole picture the delicious atmosphere of the fairy tale, as well as adding to the fun.

Two of the most appealing scenes in the film are made by these birds and animals, as they listen in awe and wonderment to Snow White singing in the wood; and as, when she is given up for dead, they gather round the door and window of the little cottage, and kneel in humble reverence.

These two scenes are superb—but so is the whole film. See it for yourselves as soon as you can; then go and see it again. You won't grow tired of it.

(Other film news on page six.)

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Diary of the Week

March

5 (Sat.) **ROTHERHAM**: 7.30 p.m. Technical College Hall, Howard Street; cinema show of *Kameradschaft* and other films; PPU.

5-19 (Sat.—Sat.) **NORBURY**: 9 a.m.—8 p.m. 1589 London Road, near Hermitage Bridge; Pacifist Book shop; PPU.

6 (Sun.) **GLASGOW**: 11.45 a.m. 100 West Regent Street; John M. Glover on "A Pacifist Pilgrimage"; Study Circle.

SOUTHAMPTON: 2.30 p.m. Prospect House; North Hants. Regional Rally; 7 p.m. poster parade; 8 p.m. Watts Memorial Hall; John Barclay; PPU.

GRAVESEND: 3 p.m. Cooperative Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, and Rev. H. H. Teacher; "The Challenge of Pacifism"; PPU.

HAMPSTEAD: 6.15 p.m. 153 Finchley Road; debate; Thomas Southall (PPU) and Dr. John Lewis (Left Book Club); Ethical Society.

HANDSWORTH, Birmingham: 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Rookery Road; Rev. P. L. D. Chatterton, Henry Whittaker, Sydney Conbeer, and Counc. Mrs. Lennard; No More War Movement.

7 (Mon.) **LEWISHAM**: 1 p.m. Rotary Club, Chiesman's Hall; Canon Stuart Morris; PPU.

BURNLEY: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics Institute; discussion on PPU policy; PPU.

NORTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; delegate conference; Gerald Bailey; Northampton Peace Council.

WEMBLEY: 8 p.m. No. 2 Room. Memorial Hall; Roy Walker; PPU.

8 (Tues.) **NOTTINGHAM**: 12.30 p.m. Co-operative Wholesale Society Restaurant; monthly lunch of Nottingham Region; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 1.20—2 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; Prof. Norman Bentwich on "The New League Statute for Refugees"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

LLANRWST: 7 p.m. "Zion" School-room; Lady Artemus Jones, R. E. Holland, and H. I. Huws; PPU.

BLACKHEATH: 8.30 p.m. All Saints' Parish Hall; Tranquil Vale; play, *Till the Cows Come Home*; John Barclay; PPU.

9 (Wed.) **EARBY**: 7.30 p.m. George Street Church; Mrs. Helen B. Ford; PPU.

WREXHAM: 7.30 p.m. Seion Chapel; Lady Artemus Jones, Canon Stuart Morris, and Rev. Watcyn Price (chairman); PPU.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Dundonald Drive; Cecil Wilson; FoR.

KINGSWAY: 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

CHELSEA: 8.15 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, 423 Kings Road; Roy Walker on "Pacifism and the Individual"; PPU.

10 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Leslie Artingstall on "Has the Christian any Option?"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; continuation of discussion on Non-Violence; City PPU group.

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m. 115 High Street; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; admission 6d.; PPU.

ABERDEEN: 7.45 p.m. Y.M.C.A. Miss Mary Gamble and Rev. Dr. Barry; PPU.

ABERDEEN: 8 p.m. 52 Elmbank Terrace; group listening and discussion; Wickham Steed and Lord Ponsonby; PPU.

WEST READING: 8 p.m. Adult School; Kensington Road; Carl Heath on "India"; PPU.

EAST BARNET: 8 p.m. St. Mary's Church Hall, Church Hill Road; Dr. Herbert Gray, Thomas Southall, and Mrs. G. W. Whiteman; PPU.

PADDINGTON: 8.15 p.m. 129 Gloucester Terrace (near Lancaster Gate); "America and Peace"; Peace Problems Study Group.

11 (Fri.) **KINGSTON**: 1 p.m. Parish Church; Canon Stuart Morris.

GLoucester University: 1.15 p.m. Miss Mary Gamble; PPU.

KILMARNOCK: 7.30 p.m. Dick Institute; Rev. George McLeod, Miss Mary Gamble, A. B. Mackay, and Rev. R. Gourlay Black (chairman); PPU.

MORECAMBE (Central): 7.30 p.m. Royalty Theatre; George Lansbury, John Barclay, and Canon Denis Fletcher; PPU.

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Canon Hedley Burrows (non-pacifist) on "Jesus Christ and War"; PPU.

GRAVESEND: 8 p.m. 11 The Grove; debate; Martin Goodchild, Rev. H. H. Teacher, L. C. B. Seaman, N. Smith, and M. Wiles (chairman); Left Book Club and PPU.

KENTISH TOWN: 8 p.m. Prince of Wales's Baths, Prince of Wales's Road; debate; Mr. Brockway (ILP) and Robert O. Mennell (PPU).

NOTTINGHAM: 8 p.m. Eltham College; debate; "Pacifism versus Collective Security"; Roy Walker; PPU.

12 (Sat.) **EARLSFIELD**: 3.15 and 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Hall, 661 Garratt Lane; film show of *Kameradschaft* and three shorts; admission 6d.; PPU.

HIGHGATE: 6 p.m. Archway Central Hall; annual meeting of North London Council; FoR.

13 (Sun.) **HALIFAX**: 8 p.m. Harrison Road, Congregational Sunday School; debate; Rev. H. John McLachlan, John A. Plant (PPU), opposed by LNU and Youth Group speakers; PPU.

Coming Shortly.
16 (Wed.) **HIGH WYCOMBE**: 7.45 p.m. Town Hall; Lord Arnold, Ruth Fry, Eric Gill, Wilfred Wellock, and Rev. S. H. Reader (chairman); PPU.

17, 18, and 19 (Thurs., Fri., and Sat.) **LEIGH-ON-SEA**: 8 p.m. Pall Mall Congregational Church; four-act play, *The Enemy*; admission 1s. and 2s., from 56 Blenheim Crescent, Leigh-on-Sea; Society of Friends and FoR.

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PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

by our Lobby Correspondent,
JAMES H. HUDSON



THE political scene shifts from Westminster to the country. After the Eden affair, everyone has had his ear to the ground. What would the constituencies say?

The papers of the "Left" filled themselves with the clatter of their own indignant proclamations and hoped it would pass as legitimate public currency.

Reports of resolutions from Labour and Liberal caucuses were given in full. Even the National Peace Council's manifesto on the side of Mr. Eden's "no truck with Italy just yet" policy received lengthy notice in a paper which ought to have guessed that it was passed by about five people who stand for peace in the same way that Mr. Stalin stands for it.

I don't think the politicians have any illusions about all this. The National Council of Labour, of course, is too busy making the clatter to hear what's happening in the political world. Their pronouncement on the day following the censure debate is like a call to the working people to rush down a steep place into the sea.

It is too long to reproduce here. But how did it strike the *Daily Herald*? The paper printed in heavy type at the head of its front-page columns what it described as the main points.

1. No agreement with Italy or Germany on the basis indicated by the Prime Minister. (The only basis we know of is the formula for withdrawing volunteers from Spain.)
2. Enforcement of treaties to the point of war to defend Czechoslovakia.
3. A warning that the present effort to get an understanding with Italy imperils the British Empire and our friendship with France and the United States.

To emphasize the second of the above points the *Herald* added a tremendous story about the Czech army chief's demand for and assertion of readiness for "undeclared war."

If this really is to be the policy of the Labour Opposition (or of Labour reinforced by Liberals, Lloyd George and Churchill, as is now frequently suggested by people like Dr. Maxwell Garnett), I imagine that a General Election will prove about as helpful to their cause as the Booby Trap of 1931.

Nothing said in Parliament can have quite as much significance for pacifists as this new Labour challenge and campaign.

Are we ready to call our young men to die in millions for the enforcement of treaties—Czechoslovakia only was mentioned, though everyone knows that Austria is much more the immediate issue, if it is a question of the enforcement of treaties?

Are we ready to unloose the bombers on Berlin while Hitler lets go at us in London? Is Labour ready to agree to submit London to such a risk after itself describing in the House of Commons the utter defencelessness of London in such a situation?

Has Labour gone mad? Can any risk involved in talking now to Hitler and Mussolini compare with the gigantic risk of one horrible night of German bombers over London? What can the country possibly say when it knows that this is the choice which Labour asks to be submitted to a General Election?

What can we pacifists do? We can appeal with all our faith and strength to our fellow citizens to accept neither the present bellicose futility of the Labour Party nor the hopeless procrastination of the Government.

The Van Zeeland Report calls for immediate consideration by both of them. The Report mentioned five powers: Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the States ("at least these," said the Report) which were called on to institute an immediate consideration of the factors which keep the nations of the world at each other's throats.

The initial steps to be taken are described in the Report, and Britain and

France, by appointing M. Van Zeeland for his job, have a special responsibility for taking those steps.

So far Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing. Every admission which he made in favour of talks with Italy now, was, a fortiori, an admission in favour of carrying out Van Zeeland's suggestions.

By design the protectionist Tories will bury the Report if they can. In complete forgetfulness of their fundamental stand against economic injustice, the Labour Party may be induced to attend the obsequies.

There is, however, just a hope that a special committee of the Party now sitting may bring it back to a sense of the importance of its economic fundamentals. But it is only a hope, for the Party has forgotten so much in its efforts to make a living inspiration out of the corpse of collective "security."

In any case the task of the pacifist is clear. It is to proclaim and spread the demand for an early acceptance of Van Zeeland's suggestions to the Government. In importance no other immediate job can compare with this.

"Appropriate"

MUCH has been heard lately against proposals to establish tank and other training grounds in beauty spots.

Surely the limit to which men can go in desecrating the most unsuitable places in the name of "defence" is indicated by these words from *Problems of the Twentieth Century*, in which Lord Davies discusses the best place for locating an international "police" force:—

It is appropriate that Palestine, an insignificant country, yet known throughout the length and breadth of the world, consecrated in the annals of Christendom for almost 2,600 years, should become the first freehold territory of the international authority. . . . Here may be stored the bulk of those devastating weapons which, although they may not actually be transformed into ploughshares and pruning hooks, may, nevertheless, be employed as implements of good husbandry in the fields of justice and the gardens of peace.

The Choice

AS for "taking sides"—the choice, it seems to me, is no longer between two users of violence, two systems of dictatorship. Violence and dictatorship cannot produce peace and liberty; they can only produce the results of violence and dictatorship, results with which history has made us only too sickeningly familiar.

The choice now is between militarism and pacifism. To me the necessity of pacifism seems absolutely clear.

—Aldous Huxley in *Authors Take Sides*.

Paying for War

CIVIL Estimates for the next year issued last week showed an increase of some £20,000,000, a fact which led *The Times* to devote considerable space to comment on "Mounting Expenditure." Among the increases was the sum to be spent on air raid "precautions"—from £5,177,600 in 1937 to £8,493,400 in 1938.

But other figures published last week showed that on armaments Britain is to spend £50,000,000 more than in the past twelve months. The total figures are:—

	1938	1937
Air Force	£100,000,000	£82,500,000
Army	£110,000,000	£82,174,000
Navy	£110,000,000	£105,000,000

This means finding £625 every minute, or £37,500 every hour until the end of March, 1939. Amid war preparations so unprecedented in peace time, it is not surprising to find that espionage by other countries has led to an increase of £100,000 in the estimated cost of our own espionage, politely termed "Secret Service."

What it Leads to

ARGUMENTS that this expenditure can be justified on the grounds that it is to make Britain so strong that no nation dare attack us were shattered by the Premier himself last week. In the House of Commons he asked:

Bombers Fly at 25,000 feet

SPECIAL TO PEACE NEWS

Although our daily newspapers have almost entirely ignored it, those primarily responsible for air defence in this country have been considerably perturbed by reports from the United States of a remarkable flight of bombers at 25,000 feet.

It has been reported that American flying boats with a crew of nine men and a load of bombs each have made service flights to a destination 750 miles away and have returned.

A long flight has also been made by the same class of machine from Florida to a destination 4,000 miles away in South America.

The authorities here naturally desire reliable details regarding these exploits.

From the point of view of defence, such bombers, flying nearly five miles up, would render futile such elaborately-conceived schemes as the balloon barrage for London. Moreover, their invisibility would add serious difficulties to defence.

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Pars for the Platform

Must not everyone admit that month after month we have seemed to be getting nearer and nearer to war?

Nor do only British politicians admit the "folly of us all." Here are two American comments:—

The peoples of the world would be far wiser if they expended more of their hard-earned money in organizing the forces of peace and fewer of the present five billion dollars in educating and training their military forces.

—Secretary of State Hull, at the Inter-American Peace Conference, Buenos Aires.

The peoples of many countries are being taxed to the point of poverty and starvation in order to enable governments to engage in a mad armaments race, which, if permitted to continue, may well result in war. This (is a) grave menace to the peace of the world.

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in May, 1934.

World Events, in reprinting these statements, comments: "We agree—but do Mr. Hull and the President?"

What is the moral?

BITAIN and France and America, having in the past acquired by one means or another the fairest stretches of the earth, would now be very pleased to have the notice "NO CHANGE ANYWHERE" nailed up on the gate at Geneva.

But in the heart of Europe there dwell great nations who have not done so well. Those nations have accepted the iron rule of dictators, exactly because their situation had become so desperate that anarchy threatened them.

The league of Nations never did anything for those nations. So they set out to do something for themselves.

—*Daily Express*, February 13rd.

The direction in which nations are setting out "to do something for themselves" is shown by the *Return of Fleets* (just published by the Stationery Office, 2s.). Probably the two most significant facts to be drawn from the report are that:—

Little information is furnished by the various Powers under the heading "Projected Building."

There are 161 submarines building in the world today, compared with sixty a year ago.

Christians' Responsibility

WHAT have we must ask, the Christians done for the realization of the truth of Christianity in social life? Have they attempted to form the social community without hate and violence, and have they fulfilled that which they now demand of the Communists?

The sins of the Christians and of the people who have determined the historical form of existence of the churches, are great, and they have evoked a just retribution. Frequent betrayal of the commands of Christ, continual and repeatedly successful attempts to mould the authority of the Church into a means of supporting the ruling classes—was all this not bound to force all those to turn apostate who suffered from this betrayal and these deformations of Christian conduct and Christian teachings?

—Nicolai Berdiaev.

IF WE ARE NOT TO GIVE UP HOPE

"Interests" Must Be Renounced

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* on Mr. Eden's resignation, H. M. Tomlinson, the novelist, said that "the younger men and women of Mr. Eden's generation have been as good as told that they may abandon hope."

"Perhaps being young, they will not. They may think the moral order which supports civilization—though under a capitalist regime—is worth saving," but, he points out, "if Mr. Eden's generation is going to get to business, it will have to renounce 'interests.'"

"Younger politicians must ask themselves, for example, when they properly denounce Japan's murder for profit in China, how it comes about that Japan's violence chances to disclose British, American, and other troops normally quartered on Chinese territory. Why? Are there Chinese garrisons in Liverpool and San Francisco to overawe the local police?"

"There we see it. If we desire a world order, and the outlawry of murder for profit, we must give up, as a beginning, our insistence on national sovereignty. That is an inexorable condition."

"It is obviously no good trying to persuade Hitler and Mussolini of our 'interests,' for these oppose their own. A common ground must be found, but it will have to be that of a moral order."

Italian Superman

The death of Gabriele D'Annunzio has brought to a close one of the most theatrically spectacular lives of the century.

D'Annunzio was symbolic of the dissatisfied nation of which he was a member. He came early under the influence of the Teutonic philosophies of Nietzsche and his followers, and adapted them with considerable ingenuity to the sunnier climate of his own land. During the War he served in the Navy and the Air Force, and achieved the status of a national hero.

He was disgusted with the way in which Italy was treated in the Peace Treaties, particularly in regard to the Adriatic settlements. To register his protest against the selfishness of the Allies and the ineffectiveness of his own government, he carried out the remarkable achievement of capturing and holding Fiume for a year in defiance of the allied authorities.

His declining years were spent in churning the waters of Lake Garda in his private torpedo boat and writing lyrical poems in praise of the war in Abyssinia.

Though the Women's International League has written to Mr. Neville Chamberlain expressing regret

at the resignation of Mr. Eden under circumstances which gave the appearance of surrender to the campaign of vilification against him in Italy, and which suggest a reversal of the policy of support for the League of Nations obligations, on which the Government was returned to power, it expresses at the same time

the hope that Britain, having made clear her willingness to surrender exclusive privileges, will give a lead in initiating wide and representative international consultations, with a view to moving toward general appeasement.

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MAKING MONEY OUT OF FEAR Vested Interests in "Precautions"

Special to Peace News

NOW that air raid "precautions" are really getting into their stride, a few observers are beginning to realize what a vast new vested interest is growing up in our midst.

It affects all parts of the country and everybody's pockets. It ranges from the growing Home Office department itself to hide-outs in local council offices and, behind the new army of officials, a new group of eager and interested manufacturers.

Nothing is more noticeable in ARP than the way that all kinds of people are rushing in to make what they can of it. Retired navy, army, and air force officers—even ex-admirals—are entrenching themselves in newly-created jobs. Local council officials are wary rivals for the well-paid posts.

Inventors of all kinds are similarly trying to make ARP a happy hunting-ground. The number of amateur-invented gas-masks brought to the notice of the Home Office is remarkable. One man has even invented a mask, described by the Home Office as "ingenious" and "unique," that permits its wearer to suck up drink from a sealed container.

ARP has secured a round £32,000,000 as its share of the "defence" till and the distribution of it is raising hopes in thousands of breasts.

Nobody dare predict how much more the nation must put in the till before the business is through and the preparations left to be run as an annual burden.

With all the officials being appointed and the rooms and equipment set aside, the annual charge of this new vested interest will itself be tremendous.

VESTED INTERESTS

Every man appointed to a new post is a reason for its continuance. The economic factor, as it affects individuals, will prove the greatest incentive to maintaining jobs for a lifetime.

Right at the top stands the now huge ARP Department of the Home Office, with central offices and branches in various parts of the land.

It all began with a room in the Home Office. Then it grew to a top floor in Princes Street, Westminster. Now it is Horseferry House, with a big and well-paid staff.

At its head is the Assistant Under-Secretary of State with his £1,500 a year or so. There are two assistant secretaries with something between £1,150 and £1,450. Four principal secretaries get between £800 and £1,100.

There are then a whole host of minor officials, many of whose salaries, including allowances of one kind and another, amount to over £1,000 a year.

Add women secretaries at £5 a week, and the rank and file, and we begin to see how headquarter's salaries for ARP jumped from £20,000 in 1935-37 to £50,000 in the present financial year.

The same process is now going on in localities. Local councillors are appointing officers at varying but mostly impressive salaries.

EXPENSIVE BUT USELESS

In addition these gentlemen want rooms and staff. It is found that £1,000 goes hardly anywhere in equipment. Hampstead's estimate of a mere room and gas-chamber for training is £1,700.

When local councils come to estimate the cost of their supposed protection, the figures grow and grow. Birmingham originally thought its cost would be a round £400,000. It now stands at £560,000. The Merseyside works it out at £750,000. Manchester's scheme is estimated to cost £313,500.

The extraordinary thing about all this vast expenditure is that it guarantees no sure protection to anyone.

REFORM OF THE LEAGUE

The special meeting of the Assembly met in July, 1936, and brought to an end the economic sanctions which had failed to stop the Italian conquest of Abyssinia.

The question arose whether any alterations should be made in the Covenant with a view to making it more effective in the future. A committee was set up, consisting of twenty-eight states.

This committee, generally known as the Committee of Twenty-Eight, had to consider the application of the principles of the Covenant and the problems connected therewith. It is frequently referred to as the Committee on the Reform of the League, or even the Committee for the amendment of the Covenant. There was, however, no definite suggestion that the Covenant should be amended and the first meetings of the committee and the proposals sent in by governments for the most part did not recommend actual amendment.

The committee met in 1936 and again at the time of the Assembly in September, 1937. The third session took place in Geneva on January 31, February 1, and 2, 1938.

During the eighteen months since the formation of the committee, the development of international affairs and the failure of the League to prevent two wars since the Italian conquest of Abyssinia naturally influenced opinion with regard to the League Covenant.

At this third session of the committee, the outstanding question in people's minds following the resignation of Italy from the League and the statement by Hitler that Germany will never return to it, was whether the Covenant can continue to stand in its present form.

The basis for discussion was the report which had been presented to the previous session by Lord Cranborne on the participation of all states in the League of Nations. The chief questions put by Lord Cranborne and taken up by various speakers were:—

1. Can the League function without being universal and what degree of universality is essential?
2. Would any alterations in the Covenant increase the number of members?
3. Would the alterations in the Covenant needed to increase the membership at the same time remove the reason for which universality is considered essential?

Lord Cranborne summarised three different ways in which the organization of the world for the maintenance of peace may be regarded:—

- (a) In a League of coercive character such as the present Covenant provides.
- (b) In a League of a non-coercive character in which the members have no other obligation other than consultation.
- (c) In a League of a character described as intermediate, based on the idea that members did not undertake any obligation in advance to impose sanctions, but retained the right to take part in them should it prove necessary.

Sweden expressed the view that in actual fact the practice of the League has been to make the character of the League that of the intermediate type described by Lord Cranborne.

The delegates of Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, Poland, Belgium, Chile, and Argentina supported the arguments which had been used in favour of the modification of Article 16, making it clear that they would not consider themselves bound by this Article under present conditions.

Great Britain, France, U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Finland, Spain, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, China, Turkey, Iran, Canada, Mexico, Columbia and New Zealand, opposed modifications of Article 16.

It was finally agreed to report the views expressed in the committee to the League Assembly and to adjourn the committee until the League's view upon the matter had been expressed. It will, therefore, presumably not meet again till next September.

Sir Samuel Hoare has openly stated that such protection is financially impossible. The cost of trying to protect buildings alone against high explosive bombs, he declared, would be £1,500,000,000!

Community Issue Now Past Experimental Stage?

(From our own Correspondent.)

IS the development of community a matter of spontaneous growth or of planned organization?

This, broadly speaking, was the general question at issue at the second meeting of those interested in community, held in Kingsley Hall, Bow, last week.

The subject was introduced by George Kenworthy, who sketched his concept of "Community today."

With practical experience behind him, he outlined his conclusion that community had already passed through its necessary experimental phases, and that the time had come to conceive of a large-scale movement which would use all the modern resources that contribute to a full life and would avoid the limitations and drawbacks necessarily imposed by small and struggling economic groups.

He conceived a demonstration unit of some 2,000 acres planned and laid out scientifically with modern dairy farm, industrial sections, distribution centres, marketing depôts, non-standardized housing with modern equipment, adequate educational and cultural resources and a proper margin of leisure for recreation.

The initial subsidy needed for such a plan would not be greater than that already subscribed for or allocated to a number of existing schemes. Once established, claimed the speaker, it could become rapidly self-supporting.

Equal remuneration for all services, complete liberty in individual spending, and a non-mechanical pattern of life to accommodate differences of temperament and philosophy—these would be the social pattern of the large-scale community experiment he visualized and which could exist in the context of an existing capitalist system.

A plea was made for something other than the bare poverty of life that seemed so often to be inseparable from the idea of community and which bore particularly hardly upon women, who had their own outlook.

This outline provided material for vigorous discussion of many fundamental questions:—

Was it possible to "plan" community? Might not the small group—though economically weak and politically unimpressive, be the only practical training ground for successful community living?

Was not the failure of many pioneer experiments due to the isolation of their effort, and was not at attempt to promote working contact between groups the most practical step toward a new order of community?

Does not present interest in community derive naturally from the growing pressure of world affairs, which tend to crystallize society into uncompromising and antagonistic masses?

PRICE OF FREEDOM

It was generally agreed that successful community depends first and last on the working together of men and women of the right spirit, however diverse their personalities. Organization must be secondary, though by no means negligible.

If poverty and material limitation are not good in themselves it is at least possible that they are the necessary

price of freedom from the present pattern of life involving, as it does, the compromise of principle as well as of practice.

Community, as one speaker pointed out, must be won. It cannot be merely bought.

The Order of Friends was mentioned as an experiment closely comparable in the breadth and efficiency of its organization, to the plan of community sketched by the speaker of the evening. But it is notable that the work of the Order began with little more than the courage, the conviction, and inspiration of a handful of people who bought a shed, a small plot of ground, and a cow in one of the least promising spots of derelict Britain.

INTEREST IS AWAKE

The desire for closer interworking was indicated by the representatives at this not-too-widely advertised community meeting.

It was attended not only by visitors from London, Outer London, and the Home Counties, but by the representative of a Wessex group who came specially from Weston-super-Mare.

Further gatherings are planned to consider the spiritual basis of community and the structure of such working experiments as the Cotswold Bruderhof at home and the Palestine communities abroad. The date and subject of the next Kingsley Hall meeting will be announced in PEACE NEWS.

Questions and communications are invited by the Secretary, Community Service Committee, "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

KING'S WEIGH HOUSE

The King's Weigh House Church, which has maintained unbroken witness in the cause of peace ever since Dr. Orchard became its minister in 1914, is being visited by Canon Morris tomorrow (Sunday) night, when he will be preaching at seven o'clock.

At the Weigh House the monthly meeting of London Peace Pledge Union group leaders is always held, while the Fellowship of Reconciliation had its Council Meeting there last Saturday.

The Rev. C. Paul Gliddon and the Rev. Arthur Halfpenny, who are associated in the ministry at the Weigh House, one being an Anglican and the other a Congregationalist, are both keen pacifists. They hope that the pacifist witness of the Weigh House may become increasingly useful.

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